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A

HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR SCHOOLS

WITH DOCUMENTS, PROBLEMS & EXERCISES

BY

M. W. KEATINGE, M.A., D.Sc.

READER IN EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND

N. L. FRAZER, M.A.

HEADMASTER OF ILKLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

SECOND EDITION

A. & C. BLACK LTD.

4, 5 & 6 SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

1919

First Published, September 1911
Reprinted in 1912 *and* 1915
Second Edition, completing 67,000 *copies published, January* 1919

PRINTED AT THE COMPLETE PRESS
WEST NORWOOD

PREFACE

THIS book has been written in response to a demand from a number of history teachers and inspectors of schools who were anxious to see history taught on the lines suggested in "Studies in the Teaching of History" * but could find no text-book suitable for class use. The task has been one of extreme difficulty. To compress into some 730 pages a fairly comprehensive narrative of English history and a collection of documents illustrative of all the more important events has been possible only through the exercise of a rigorous process of selection. In consequence every enthusiastic teacher of history who examines the book will be able to suggest alterations which would make it more suitable for him personally. To some certain omissions will seem inexplicable; to others documents that are massed together to illustrate certain events will seem redundant.

To such criticism it may be replied that the book is not intended to do the work of the teacher or to deprive him of the opportunity of expanding the narrative and supplying documents of his own choice. It gives a basis of historical fact for more detailed work and revision, and a minimum of selections from

* "Studies in the Teaching of History." By M. W. Keatinge. A. and C. Black. 1910.

contemporary records for the pupil to exercise his wits upon.

It is, indeed, the presence of documents and the provision of problems and exercises upon them that distinguish this school history from its predecessors. History has long been a subject in which the teacher has done most of the work, while the pupil has played the part of a listener and a reproducer; and although many good teachers have striven their utmost to alter this distribution of effort, their task has resembled that of a science teacher who should attempt to make his class do practical work without apparatus or laboratory benches. It is little more than a generation since the science teacher, like the history teacher of the present day, demonstrated and lectured, leaving nothing for the pupil to do but to reproduce, or at best to write a critical account of what was given to him. The change of procedure is now complete, and no modern schools teach science without an adequate laboratory equipment, which permits the pupil to do practical work. Similarly, the teaching of geography, which quite recently consisted of administering the contents of a text-book, has now been placed on a more scientific basis by the introduction of the orographical map and the use and causal explanation of statistics.

The documents provided in this volume are intended to supply the apparatus for work which to some extent is analogous to that provided by the laboratory in the teaching of science. The pupil is given something that he can handle and manipulate—raw material that can be worked up in a number of different ways; crude elements in connection with which a large number of exercises that vary widely in difficulty can

be set. There need be no fear that these exercises will lead to premature generalisation or to mere guess-work on the part of the pupil. In many cases a comparison of two documents, or a *précis* of a long one, or a connected narrative derived from several partial accounts is all that will be asked for; in others the documents readily lend themselves to problems that call forth a good deal of ingenuity or lead to the estimation of evidence. The easier exercises will insure that even junior forms shall have read with some accuracy accounts of historical events given with that vividness and simplicity which are to be found only in contemporary narratives; the harder ones will guide the pupil to the understanding and appreciation of historical method. It may be added that the scope of the book has made it necessary to limit the number of purely illustrative documents, as, though essential for good teaching, they are easily accessible in such a series of source-books as that mentioned below.

It is hoped that the selection here supplied will be found useful for a very wide range of pupil. The extracts have been tested with classes of varying age and type, and while primarily intended for the "secondary" stage of school work, they are no less suitable for the upper standards in elementary schools. The price of the book has been kept as low as possible to bring it within the scope of these schools.

The problems at the end of the book are intended to be indicative of the kind of exercise to which the documents lend themselves, and must not be looked upon as a formal series of exercises to be worked through indiscriminately as they stand by every pupil.

It will be seen that they are of varying difficulty and will frequently need modification by the teacher. In many cases they suggest a definite lesson by the teacher, after which they might be set as homework.

Additional exercises will be suggested and the material for them provided in the more compendious collection of documents in "English History Illustrated from Original Sources," and by referring to this series the teacher will be able to make the best use of the problems suggested in this book. For instance, in problem 235 the pupil is asked to write the kind of answer that Charles I. would probably have written to the letter which accompanied the Grand Remonstrance. In the companion volume, 1603–1660, in "English History Illustrated from Original Sources," the actual letter which he did write will be found and may be dictated to the class as a kind of fair copy. The companion volume from this series to the period which he is teaching should indeed always be in the teacher's hand, and when possible several copies should be placed in the class-room for the pupils to consult. In these volumes will be found full reference to books dealing with the period and an account of the contemporary writers from whose works extracts are taken; and therefore, in spite of their importance, no reference to either of these matters has been made in this book.

The continuous narrative emphasises and deals in fair detail with the most important movements, and so brings into prominence the continuity in the development of our country's history. Especial stress has been laid on the growth of the Empire, and—especially in modern times—on the events which have created the existing

Great Powers of Europe. Social progress has received more than usual attention.

The proportion of space devoted to various topics in the narrative depends largely on the extent to which they are dealt with in the documents. If they are well represented here, they receive only a passing notice in the narrative; if no document deals with them, the narrative treats of them at greater length. In order, therefore, to form a fair estimate of its scope the book must be considered as a whole, narrative and documents together. If subjected to this test it is believed that, when properly supplemented, it will be found suitable as a text-book for the Local, School-leaving, and Matriculation examinations, as well as those of the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board.

It will be noticed that while the volume contains an adequate supply of maps no illustrations are included. The authors felt that in a book which has with difficulty been kept within the size and price which are practicable for schools the inclusion of any matter which might lead to the exclusion of documents would be undesirable. They are also strongly of opinion that for all classes except the youngest the proper place for pictures is on the walls of the class-room, where, in frames suitable for the purpose, they can be displayed and changed at intervals to suit the portion of history that is being dealt with.

Practically no attempt has been made to deal with literature. A list of authors' names, which is all that could be given in a narrative such as this, means nothing unless literature is adequately taught, and if it is, such a list is unnecessary. It is proposed shortly to issue a series of companion volumes which may

illustrate the successive periods and serve as a progressive course of literature.

A complete acknowledgment of our indebtedness to books and to persons is impossible in the limited space at our disposal, but we must thank Dr. W. S. McKechnie for permission to use his translation of Magna Carta; Messrs. Macmillan for permission to use the translation of document **39**; Miss C. L. Thomson for permission to use her translation of the Battle of Brunanburh; Mr. J. B. Baker, Tutor to the Non-Collegiate Students at Oxford, for much valuable advice; and Mr. C. H. Martin, of Balliol College, for his translation from the original Latin of documents **41–52**. The plans of Crécy, Poitiers, and the Campaign of Waterloo are from Ransome's "Advanced History of England," and the maps of Europe in 1810 and 1815 are based upon those in Freeman's "Historical Atlas," by the courtesy of the publishers. We are also indebted to Messrs. A. and C. Black for their kindness in allowing us to use the material contained in their series of Source-Books—"English History Illustrated from Original Sources."

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PART I

55 B.C. TO A.D. 1603

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF ENGLAND

55 B.C. JULIUS CÆSAR'S FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN.
54 B.C. CÆSAR'S SECOND INVASION.

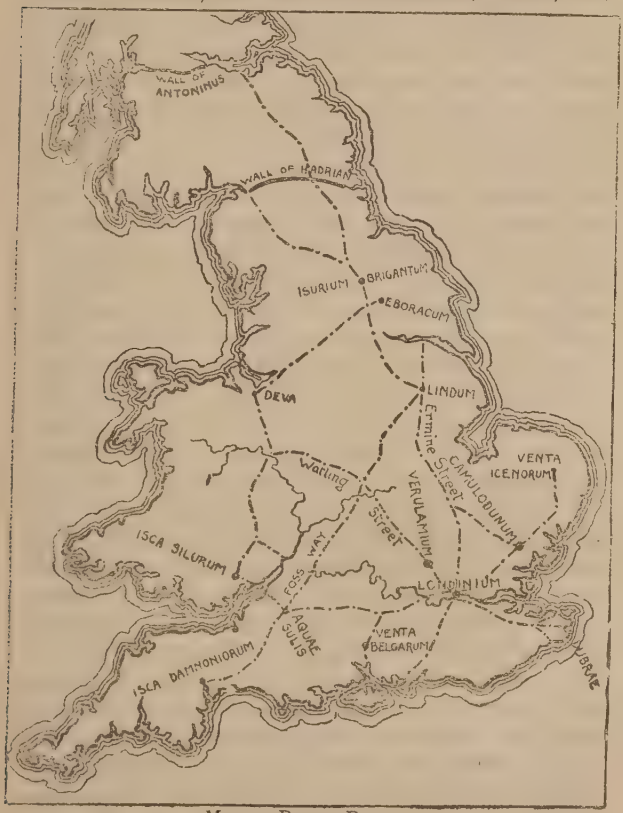
A.D.
78–84. JULIUS AGRICOLA IN BRITAIN.
122. BUILDING OF HADRIAN'S WALL.
410. ROMANS LEAVE BRITAIN.
450–500. ENGLISH INVASIONS.
597. AUGUSTINE'S MISSION.
664. SYNOD OF WHITBY.
855. DANES WINTER IN ENGLAND
877. ALFRED, KING OF WESSEX.
901. DEATH OF ALFRED.
1013. SWEYN, KING OF ENGLAND
1066. BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

Celts and Romans.—The Britons, who gave their name to this island, were by race Celts, but they were not the only Celts who lived here; in the west and north there were others called Goidels or Gaels. The Britons who lived in the south had had some slight trading connection with the Continent, chiefly in minerals, for about three hundred years before Julius Cæsar, the Roman general, tried to conquer them. Cæsar at that time (55 B.C.) was subduing the Gauls, but when he found that the Gauls were being helped by their fellow-Celts, the Britons, he decided to attack the islanders. His landing, under considerable difficulties, so terrified the Britons that they fled inland, and Cæsar had not sufficient

cavalry to pursue them. He therefore returned to Gaul, but in the following year came back, and owing to quarrels among the Britons was able to conquer Cassivellaunus, one of the leading chiefs, and to exact hostages and tribute. His work was left unfinished till the time of the Emperor Claudius, who in A.D. 43 sent over an expedition under Aulus Plautius. Aulus was only partially successful, but the Romans were now in earnest, and at last Julius Agricola subdued the country as far north as the Forth and Clyde, between which rivers he built a line of forts to protect the southern province from the wild Caledonians (A.D. 84). About forty years later this line was abandoned by the Emperor Hadrian, who built a double wall between Tyne and Solway.

The English Invasion.—But while Britain was prospering under Roman rule, the Roman Empire itself was beginning to show signs of decay, so that Carausius, who had been appointed Count of the Saxon Shore to protect the province from the Teutons, was able to proclaim himself Emperor of Britain; and although a few years later the island was again joined to the Empire, it was impossible to spare enough men for its defence. In the year 410 the islanders—long since grown unaccustomed to fighting—were left to defend themselves against Picts and other invaders as best they could. In their distress they called in their strongest enemies—the tribe of Teutons known as Jutes, who very soon turned upon their allies. The Saxons, another German tribe from the land between the Weser and the Elbe, soon followed, and not long afterwards the Angles, who had been near neighbours

of the Jutes in Jutland. Roughly speaking, the Jutes settled in Kent, the Saxons in Sussex, Essex, and



MAP OF ROMAN BRITAIN

Wessex, and the Angles along the eastern coast, although they penetrated westwards into the Midlands

up the valley of the Trent and founded Mercia. The features of this English invasion were the migration of a whole people, bringing its language and customs, which gradually displaced those they found already established; the absorption and partial displacement of the native population; and the destruction of Roman civilisation and of Christianity.

Conversion to Christianity.—Once established, the English tribes began to struggle for supremacy. Kent, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex were strongest in turn. Kent's influence was greatest about the end of the sixth century. In 597 her king was Ethelbert, whose wife, a daughter of the West-Frankish king, was a Christian. The Pope, Gregory the Great, seized the chance of converting the heathen English, and sent over a band of missionaries under Augustine. The mission was successful, for Kent, following its king's example, became Christian; but the other tribes remained pagan, nor was there any union between the new-comers and the Celtic Christians already in Britain, whose faith in the remote west had survived the English invasions. The next step was taken in 627, when Paulinus, one of Augustine's missionaries, went to Northumbria, now the leading state, and converted its king, Edwin, who had married a daughter of Ethelbert of Kent. But Northumbria was soon plunged into war with Mercia, whose king, though a heathen, had been joined by Cadwallon, the Christian king of the North Welsh. The allies were victorious over Edwin at Hatfield, but his successor, Oswald, defeated Cadwallon shortly afterwards. Paulinus had not made much headway in his mission, and Oswald called in Celtic missionaries from Iona, establishing Aidan in Lin-

disfarne. Oswald's successor, Oswiu, after defeating the King of Mercia in 655, called a meeting at Whitby to settle which form of Christianity should be followed in Northumbria. His decision in favour of the Roman form introduced into Britain by Augustine was important, as securing uniformity for the whole country and bringing it into closer touch with the civilisation of the Continent. Celtic Christianity was distinguished by a certain looseness of organisation and the great influence of monasteries, often ruled by members of particular clans, as well as by such minor peculiarities as the date of holding Easter and the mode of wearing the tonsure. The united Church was now organised by Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, into bishoprics, a system which in course of time provided a sort of model for local government under a national head.

Struggle for Supremacy.—The struggle between Northumbria and Mercia ended in the triumph of the Mercians, who, largely owing to the greatness of their king, Offa (758–796), managed to retain the supremacy till defeated by Egbert of Wessex. King Edwin of Northumbria and King Offa of Mercia had called themselves Bretwaldas, or overlords, but Egbert was overlord of Britain in a much stricter sense than they had been; for not only Mercia, but Kent, Sussex, Northumbria, and even the North and West Welsh, had all submitted to him before his death in 839. That Wessex did not fall again, but became the means of uniting England into a compact and strong nation, was due to the invasion of the Danes.

Alfred and the Danes.—In their earlier expeditions, which began about 787, the Danes were out merely for

plunder and returned home before the winter ; it was not until 855 that they wintered in England for the first time. No doubt one reason why they turned their thoughts to settlement was because strong kings at home left no room for unruly independent chieftains. After conquering Mercia and East Anglia they attacked Wessex, and were defeated by the grandsons of Egbert at Ashdown, 871. Nine battles were fought against them by Alfred in that year—the first of his reign—with varying success ; but in the end peace was made and the Danes retired northward. Six years later they returned, and drove Alfred to take refuge in Athelney, a little island in the marshes of the Somerset Parret. But next year, 878, he gathered together the men of Somerset, Devon, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, and defeated the Danes under Guthrum at Ethandun. At Chippenham, their headquarters, he compelled them to agree to the treaty of Wedmore, by which England was to be divided by a line formed by the river Thames and Watling Street (from Reading to Chester) : the country north of this line was given over to the Danes and called the Danelaw ; that to the south fell to Alfred, who thus became the recognised champion of the English against the Danes. Another important clause of the treaty was that Guthrum should become a Christian.

As the peace lasted during Guthrum's lifetime, Alfred had time to settle his kingdom. Not only did he organise a national army on a local basis and create the beginnings of a fleet, but he founded schools and encouraged learning and art in every way, translating works on history, geography, and religion into English himself, and starting a national record called the

English Chronicle. What was perhaps still more important, he rearranged the old laws and saw that they were kept.

But towards the end of his reign he had to fight fresh Danes from oversea as well as those in the Danelaw, and found his army and fleet of the greatest use. When he died in 901 his son, Edward the Elder, and his daughter, Ethelflaed, the Lady of the Mercians, began the reconquest of the Danelaw. Tamworth Stafford, and Warwick were taken, and then the five Danish boroughs, Derby, Stamford, Nottingham, Leicester, and Lincoln. By 925 Alfred's grandson, Ethelstan, could style himself with some show of reason King of all Britain, and with still more when in 937 he crushed at Brunanburh a revolt headed by Olaf the Dane and supported by the Scots and Northumbrians.

The Power of Wessex.—Wessex was fortunate in giving to England a line of great kings. Ethelstan was succeeded by Edmund the Magnificent, who subdued Cumberland and handed it over to Malcolm, King of Scots; and when Edmund was murdered he was followed by Edred, who finally subdued Northumbria and reconquered the Danelaw. But in Edwy's reign Mercia revolted and chose his brother Edgar as king, who when Edwy died became king of the whole country (959). The revolt of Mercia had thrown things into confusion, and Edgar had some trouble in restoring order; but with the help of Dunstan, the abbot of Glastonbury, who had been driven into exile in Edwy's reign, he succeded so well that in 973 he was recognised as overlord of Britain. Dunstan's great object was to create a united nation of English and

Danes, and with this end in view he was wise enough to let the Danes live under their own laws and customs, while he enforced the English laws in Wessex. Dunstan, however, was a Churchman as well as a statesman, and on his return from exile he tried to introduce stricter discipline into monasteries on the Continental model. In England it was common for abbeys like Glastonbury to be served by secular canons, who practically lived in the world without professing the vows undertaken by monks. As occasion offered, Dunstan replaced these canons by monks, and in many other ways tightened Church discipline. He was also a great lover of art, and encouraged the copying and illuminating of books, the composition of music, and even the casting of bells.

Danish Conquest.—The great line of Wessex kings came at last to an end. When the Danes once more began to make descents upon the coasts, Ethelred the Unready ("lacking in counsel") bought them off with Danegeld; and when Sweyn, an exiled prince of Denmark, invaded England, recourse was had to the same foolish policy. Like many weak men, Ethelred was cruel, and in 1002—the year in which he married Emma, sister of Richard, Duke of Normandy—he ordered a general massacre of the Danes in England (St. Brice's Day, November 13), an act sternly avenged by Sweyn, now King of Denmark, for he drove Ethelred to Normandy and ruled in his stead. When he died his son Canute fought first with Ethelred, nd then with his son, Edmund Ironside; with Edmund he divided the kingdom for a time, but on his death he became sole king (1017). Canute was King of Denmark also, and later on of Norway, and so England became the

centre of a Northern Empire; but Canute was wise enough to keep English laws for Englishmen and to make use of existing English local organisations,

while he created four earls to take the place of the old aldermen, or chief magistrates, who had had control of all the military forces of the shire and had a seat in the Witenagemot, as the national assembly of wise men was called. In fact, Canute ruled as an English king, dismissing most of his Danish army, and encouraging learning and trade among his new subjects. When he died in 1035 his sons, Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut, fought for the kingdom, and reigned in turn till in 1042 the old English line was restored under Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred and Emma.

The Normans.—Edward had spent most of his life in Normandy, and his partiality for Normans caused great discontent in England, especially in the family of his own father-in-law, Earl Godwine of Wessex. Because the earl refused to punish the men of Dover for insulting the king's brother-in-law, Eustace of Boulogne, he was banished, and during his exile William, Duke of Normandy, visited England. According to William, Edward then promised him the succession to the kingdom. Most of Edward's reign was taken up with quarrels between the houses of Godwine and Leofric, Earl of Mercia, in the course of which Tostig, Godwine's third son, was expelled from his earldom of Northumbria, which was given to Morcar, Leofric's grandson. On the king's death in 1066 the Witan, seeing the need for a strong king, elected as his successor Earl Godwine's eldest son, Harold. Immediately William of Normandy claimed the throne as Edward's heir by kinship and promise; also he said that when shipwrecked on the Norman coast Harold had sworn to help him. At the same time Harold's brother Tostig, with his

ally, Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, invaded England, and the king had to leave the southern coasts to march against them. His decisive victory over them at Stamford Bridge might have been followed by a victory over William, who had meanwhile landed at Pevensey, if only Morcar and his brother Edwin, on whose behalf Harold had really fought Tostig, had followed with their levies immediately. The two armies met near Hastings. Harold took up a strong position on a hill, and so long as his footmen—for he had no cavalry—kept to their cover William's horsemen and archers produced little effect. The duke's only hope was to induce the English to leave their position, and this he succeeded in doing by feigning retreat. Harold's irregular levies broke away and were immediately charged and annihilated by the Norman cavalry. The English centre still stood firm, and only gave way when Harold fell, wounded in the eye by an arrow. There was no second army to oppose the Conqueror, so the Battle of Hastings gave the crown of England to William of Normandy.

CHAPTER II

THE NORMANS IN ENGLAND

1066. The Battle of Hastings.
1070. Revolt of Hereward the Wake.
1086. Domesday Book.
1087. Accession of William Rufus.
1093. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1100. Accession of Henry I.
1106. Tenchebrai.
1135. Accession of Stephen.

The Conqueror.—William was in no hurry to reap the fruits of his victory. The Londoners had declared for Edgar Atheling and the Witan had confirmed their choice ; but, realising their helplessness, they soon sent an embassy to William, with Edgar himself at its head, to offer him the crown. He was crowned on Christmas Day, 1066.

William's first task was to reward his followers by conferring upon them the confiscated estates of the English nobles ; certainly at the beginning of his reign, when continual revolts had not yet embittered him, he allowed a number of English landowners to redeem their estates by paying heavy fines, but by the time of his death nearly all the land of England had changed hands.

The Feudal System.—At that time the whole organisation of society was based upon the holding of land, or, in other words, upon the system known as feudalism. The chief reason for this was that the central government was not strong enough to give protection to all citizens, who had to look for help to the richest and strongest man in their neighbourhood. Naturally, so

necessary a service had to be paid for, and the obvious way to pay for it was by doing service upon the rich man's land—in fact, by providing him and themselves with the means of living. So it came about that the country was divided into a number of units called manors, every individual member of which was bound to every other member by clearly defined duties, perfectly well known and recognised by the customary law administered by the lord's steward in the lord's manor court. This system, the economic side of feudalism, was as prevalent in England as in Normandy. Its object was to get the soil cultivated and so to provide mankind with the necessary food and clothing.

There was, however, another side of feudalism, which had developed on the Continent, but had not so far made its appearance in England. This we may call the political side, for by it the king was regarded as the sole owner of land, and all other occupiers of land as his vassals, whose duty it was to help the king to govern the country by providing an army. It was, in fact, as has been said, "that form of organisation in which the duties of the citizen to the State had been changed into a species of land rent. The individual no longer served in the army because this service was a part of his obligation as a citizen, but because he had agreed by private contract to do so as a part of the rent he was to pay for the land he held of another man." It was this political side of feudalism which William introduced ready-made into England. The consequences will be seen by one illustration. Members of the Witenagemot had attended as great men in Church or State; members of William's royal court attended as his vassals, as part of their obligations in

return for the land he had given them. In practice the feudal system divided society into a series of grades, each reproducing more or less the relations which existed between the king and his immediate vassals. But in every rank the duties or services depended on the land held; even serfs held land by a special tenure, and therefore had not only services to perform but rights to claim. As far as Englishmen were concerned, the main tendency was for them to sink lower and lower in the scale, according as the land was given to the Norman conquerors, who naturally would introduce other Normans to hold land of them in their turn.

English and Normans.—If Englishmen had much to fear from the wholesale confiscation of their land—especially now that land-holding was so much more politically important—the king also had to guard against the possibility of making his followers too strong. This he avoided by giving them land in as many different parts of the country as he could, in order that they might not be able to concentrate their strength.

As a matter of fact, William had to face a revolt of his barons later in his reign, but his first troubles came from the English. In 1067 he returned to Normandy, leaving Odo of Bayeux, his half-brother, and William FitzOsbern as regents. Their bad government drove the English into rebellion. When William came back in the following year, he thoroughly conquered the west and partially subdued the north; and then when, almost immediately, a general revolt broke out in Yorkshire, supported by the Danes and Edgar Atheling, he absolutely devastated the whole country. One other English rising gave him trouble, in 1070, when Hereward the

Wake held out against him in the Fens—leading to still further confiscation of English lands and the building of many Norman castles. These strongholds induced some of the Norman barons to make a bid for greater independence, such as had been enjoyed by the old earls, and they even allied themselves with Waltheof, son of Siward, who had been Earl of Northumberland in Edward's reign. But they found such small support among the English that William had little trouble in crushing them.

Domesday Book.—In 1084 another Danish invasion was threatened, and in order to find out the financial and military strength of the country William ordered a survey of the kingdom, which resulted in a mass of evidence as to the ownership of land, the conditions of tenure by which it was held, and its value; all this information was obtained from sworn witnesses, English and Norman, in the "Hundred" courts (1086). In the summer of the same year a great meeting, or "Gemot," was held at Salisbury, at which all landholders did homage and swore allegiance to the king, no matter from whom they held their land.

Effects of the Conquest.—In 1087 William died at Mantes in course of a war against the King of France for the possession of the Vexin, a county on the Norman-French frontier. His ambition had been to rule in England as an English king; and although he gave lands and offices to his Norman followers, he respected English law and upheld English privileges. A good instance of this occurred in 1077, when as the upholder of English national custom he refused to take the oath of fealty to Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII. On the other hand, it

was impossible but that Norman influence should greatly affect England. Not to mention the obvious results of increased intercourse with the Continent by trade, war, and diplomacy, there were great changes in Church government and the royal power. In spite of his attitude to Hildebrand, William saw that Church discipline in England was lax. In 1070 Stigand, the English Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed, and his see given to Lanfranc, Abbot of Bec, who by his very reforms, such as the establishment of ecclesiastical courts, helped to bring about that more complete separation of Church and State which gave rise to such trouble in succeeding reigns. But William was content to hand over Church government to a capable administrator like Lanfranc while he himself was busy in concentrating his own power. The English crown had been, in theory at any rate, in the gift of the Witan; but now that the king was the feudal chief of his vassals, and as such commanded the national resources, succession to the crown came to be regarded as a right of inheritance.

Apart from government, it might be expected that the chief change would be in language; what actually happened was that English gradually lost a good many of its inflexions and gained a large number of French words. For a long time the two languages existed side by side, till by the end of the twelfth century English was spoken even by most Normans. In learning, literature, and art England had everything to gain from her conquerors.

William II. and Anselm.—William Rufus, the Conqueror's second son, had immediately to face a rising

of the Norman barons in favour of his elder brother Robert, who had succeeded to the duchy of Normandy; that he triumphed over it was largely due to the help he received from his English subjects. The nobles had to pay dearly for their defeat in the way of taxes levied upon them by the king's Chancellor, Ranulf Flambard. For us the chief interest of William II.'s reign lies in his appointment of Anselm, Abbot of Bec, as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, after the see had been vacant since Lanfranc's death four years before; the revenues of course in the meantime went into the royal exchequer. It was not long before the king contrived to quarrel with his archbishop, who, though the mildest and most saint-like of men, was not prepared to allow any encroachments upon the dignity or power of the Church. First of all Rufus complained that Anselm's present to him on taking over the archbishopric had been intolerably small. Then when Anselm said that he wished to go to Rome to receive the archbishop's pall at the hands of Pope Urban, Rufus replied by refusing to acknowledge Urban as Pope at all, and when after the Council of Rockingham the king recanted and sent for the pall to bestow it upon the archbishop himself, Anselm refused to receive it at a layman's hands. However, a compromise was arrived at, and Anselm settled down to the work of his see, till another quarrel broke out about his feudal position as the king's vassal. Then he left England for Rome, and stayed on the Continent till the accession of Henry I. (1100) made it possible for him to return.

Investitures.—At William II.'s death Robert of Normandy again claimed the English throne, but Henry,

his younger brother, secured English support by publishing a charter promising better government, and so gained the crown. Although a very different man from Rufus, he found himself soon quarrelling with Anselm; as king and feudal superior he, like Rufus, demanded homage from the archbishop and the right to invest him with the symbols of his office. The same contest was being carried on all over Europe, and the Pope had recently forbidden bishops and abbots to accept investiture from kings. Anselm obeyed the Pope's orders and left England. Two years later, however, he returned and agreed to a compromise, afterwards generally followed abroad, by which he and other ecclesiastics did homage for land and temporal possessions to the temporal power—that is, to the king—while they received the spiritual symbols of their office at the hands of an ecclesiastic representing the Church.

The King's Justice.—A large part of Henry's reign was taken up with wars in France against Robert's son, William Clito, and his allies the French king and the Norman barons; but he did not neglect England, where he was called the Lion of Justice—no doubt because he reorganised the Courts of Law. The duties of the king's officers and the king's council were rearranged and a new smaller body of advisers created, called the King's Court or the Exchequer Court, according as it sat to deal with matters of law and justice or with matters of finance. A beginning was made, too, of sending the Exchequer Court into the shires, where it held inquiries into taxation in the shire courts—a custom which afterwards developed into the practice of sending judges round on circuit.

Normans v. Angevins.—When Henry's son William was drowned in 1120, he persuaded his barons to swear to recognise his daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V., as his successor; but when she married Geoffrey of Anjou the Normans lost all enthusiasm in her cause. The Angevins were regarded as foreigners by the Normans; Matilda and her husband were haughty and unpopular; a woman's rule was risky; so on Henry's death (1135) Stephen of Blois, the Conqueror's grandson, quietly succeeded to the throne.

Civil War: The Crown and the Barons.—Matilda and her husband immediately invaded Normandy, and shortly afterwards Matilda's uncle, David King of Scotland, invaded England. Successful for the moment, he had to be bought off by the cession of Cumberland and Carlisle, but when he came again, in 1138, he was decisively defeated at the Battle of the Standard by Thurstan, Archbishop of York. In England itself Stephen's slack rule and extravagance led Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, to renounce his allegiance and flee to his sister. Stephen, ready to think every man his enemy, now arrested his Justiciar, Roger of Salisbury, and as Roger's family held most of the important offices in the kingdom, everything was thrown into confusion. When in the same year Matilda and Robert of Gloucester landed in England civil war broke out—a calamity at any time, but especially now when Stephen brought over mercenaries from abroad and the barons raised castles everywhere. It was feudalism at its worst—absolute anarchy. At first Matilda was successful, capturing

Stephen at Lincoln. Supported by the king's own brother, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, she was proclaimed queen. But her haughty temper alienated Henry and the Londoners, and she had to retire to Oxford.

Fortune now favoured Stephen, who, regaining his liberty in exchange for Robert of Gloucester, now too a prisoner, hastened to besiege Matilda in Oxford. Matilda escaped, but the war went on till 1147, when Robert of Gloucester died. The peace that ensued was not much better than war, for barons like the Earls of Chester and of Aumale, being more powerful than the king himself, did as they pleased. It was almost a relief when Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, who had lately secured a large part of France by marrying Eleanor of Aquitaine, invaded England in 1153. By the treaty of Wallingford it was arranged that Henry should in due course succeed Stephen, whose son and heir had lately died.

CHAPTER III

HENRY II

1164. Constitutions of Clarendon.
1166. Assize of Clarendon.
1170. Murder of Becket.
1174. Treaty of Falaise.
1181. Assize of Arms.
1182. Death of Henry II.

A Strong Government.—When he came to the throne in 1154 Henry was one of the strongest princes in Europe. That his vigour and resolution matched his great possessions was soon shown by the way in which he restored order in England. As a model he kept before his eyes the administration of his grandfather, Henry I., and after curbing the power of the barons by demolishing their new castles and by prohibiting private wars, he revived the old laws and customs. Two important developments are associated with the beginning of his reign : he instituted trial by jury, at any rate in land disputes, by the recognition of twelve sworn knights ; and he extended the principle of granting a money payment (scutage) in lieu of military service.

Thomas Becket.—In this work of administration he was splendidly supported by his Chancellor, Thomas Becket. Becket was the son of a rich London merchant, and had received his training in business and diplomacy in the household of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. Recommended by his patron to the king, he had shown the greatest zeal in the royal service, and had fully deserved the high office he

received. Henry required a man imbued with his own ideas of good government to undertake the same task in the Church as he himself was carrying out in the State. No one seemed better qualified than Becket, and, apparently against his own will and better judgment, he was made Archbishop of Canterbury (1162).

Church and State.—Becket's chief characteristic was to throw all his powers into the work in which he was engaged, and he therefore decided that to carry out his duties properly as archbishop he must resign the chancellorship. With the change of office he became a changed man; henceforth all his devotion was centred in the interests of the Church. Now at that time the Church claimed powers almost as extensive as those of the State itself; she had her own code of laws and her own courts to interpret them; the clergy, among whom were included a large number of men in minor orders, who were practically laymen, were amenable only to the Church courts. To a strong king like Henry II. this division of authority seemed intolerable, but it was not the first cause of his quarrel with Becket. That arose out of the king's proposal to substitute a new form of taxation for the old Danegeld. Becket refused to allow the new tax to be collected on the land belonging to his see, and the prestige of the Church was so great that Henry had to yield.

However, soon afterwards a case arose in which a clerk was accused of murder, and Henry's officers demanded that he should be tried in the king's court. Becket opposed the request as an encroachment on the dignity and privileges of the Church, and once more

England and France at the Accession of Henry II.

gained his point. But the larger question of the relationship between the Church and the State was now opened up; Henry settled it by falling back on ancient custom, by which Becket at length agreed to be bound. This ancient custom the king claimed to embody in the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), and Becket, who confessed his ignorance of this side of the question, found himself confronted with a set of laws which the Church had outlived by, at any rate, a hundred years. Among other important provisions the Constitutions of Clarendon declared that bishops and abbots should be elected before the king's officer with the king's consent, that the king's court should decide on the tribunal to try cases between laymen and clerics, and that clerks, after conviction in ecclesiastical courts, should be handed over to lay courts. These Constitutions Becket first accepted and then repudiated. Henry retaliated by summoning him to Northampton to answer charges of wrongdoing while Chancellor. Becket again made concessions, which he afterwards withdrew, and finally fled to the Continent, where he remained for six years, sometimes busy with appeals to the Pope and sometimes with intrigues against Henry.

Murder of Becket.—When the king had his eldest son Henry crowned by the Archbishop of York, Becket excommunicated those who had taken part in the ceremony and threatened the country with an interdict. This threat and an intrigue with the King of France at last compelled Henry to allow him to return to England. But even still Becket continued the quarrel by persisting in excommunicating the bishops who had officiated at young Henry's coronation. Irritated

beyond endurance, the king, at that time in Normandy, passionately reproached his followers for not ridding him of this turbulent priest. Four knights, taking him at his word, crossed over secretly to England and murdered the archbishop in his own cathedral, thereby rendering the king the worst possible service and making Becket a martyr in the Church's cause.

Ireland.—To gain breathing-space and to escape for a while the consequences of Becket's murder, Henry crossed over to Ireland, where events had led him to renew the plans of conquest which he had formed at the beginning of his reign—plans approved by the English Pope, Nicholas Breakspear (Hadrian IV.), who as the lord of all islands had bestowed that country upon him. In 1166 Dermot, King of Leinster, had invited the help of the Norman barons of the Welsh marches against his enemies, and four years later they had been followed by Richard of Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed "Strongbow." Strongbow married Dermot's daughter and was to succeed to the kingdom of Leinster, but at his father-in-law's death he had to meet a general insurrection of his intended subjects. At this juncture he was summoned by Henry to England, and returned to Ireland in 1171 accompanied by the king. The Irish everywhere submitted, and Henry, retaining the kingship for himself, left the Norman barons as a kind of feudal colony amid an alien and largely unconquered population.

Scotland.—Returning to England, Henry did public penance at Becket's tomb, and soon afterwards—the result of the penance in popular opinion—had the satisfaction to hear that William the Lion, King of Scotland, had been captured on a raiding expedition

in the north. The treaty of Falaise soon restored William to liberty, but not before he had done homage to Henry for Scotland.

Administration in England.—Without going into any great detail, we may mention two or three further steps in Henry's development of the machinery of government. In 1166 the Assize of Clarendon established circuits for travelling judges, and made sworn juries present reputed criminals for trial, while a few years later the old feudal sheriffs were replaced by officials of the Royal Exchequer. In 1176, as an outcome of the Assize of Clarendon, the Assize of Northampton increased the number of judges' circuits from two to six; in 1178 a judicial committee of the Curia Regis was established, thus marking the beginning of the Court of King's Bench; and in 1181 the Assize of Arms reorganised the ancient national militia.

War with France.—The last years of Henry's reign were troubled by the rebellion of his sons. As we have seen, the eldest was crowned king during his father's lifetime, probably in imitation of the custom prevalent in France, where it was the best means of securing an hereditary succession; but Henry was unwilling to take the next logical step, of providing a fitting income or sphere of power for the young king, who therefore listened to the interested advice of his father-in-law, the King of France, and claimed in arms what his father refused to give. When young Henry died in 1183, the other sons, Richard, who had been made Duke of Aquitaine, and Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and by marriage Count of Brittany, rose against their father.

The King of France at that time was Philip Augustus, an even abler ruler than Henry himself. He saw the danger to France of Henry's French possessions, and did his best to foment discord between the father and sons. When Geoffrey died war nearly broke out because Philip claimed the wardship of his child, but it was averted by the news that the Turks had captured Jerusalem (1187). The general excitement and indignation not only stopped all private wars, but induced Henry and Philip to take the Crusaders' vows and promise to go to the rescue of the Christians in Palestine. The Saladin tithe which this decision inflicted on England is noteworthy as being the first tax on personal property. But Henry did not go on crusade after all, for a rebellion in Aquitaine brought Richard into conflict with his friend Philip and involved his father too. The estrangement, however, did not last long, for Richard's resentment at Henry's partiality for the youngest brother, John, drove him to do homage to Philip for all the English lands in France. Henry was soon attacked by the allies, and, unable to hold Le Mans, had to flee to Chinon. There, deserted by his barons and opposed by his sons, he could do nothing but accept the terms forced upon him by Philip—the recognition of Richard as his heir and the performance of homage for his French possessions. The indignity of his defeat and the bitter knowledge that he had been betrayed even by his youngest and favourite son John broke his spirit, and a few days later he died (1189).

CHAPTER IV

RICHARD I

1191. Capture of Acre and Battle of Arsuf.
1199. Death of Richard.

The Third Crusade.—Richard did not stay in England longer than was necessary for his coronation and the raising of money for the Crusade. Everything possible was put up for sale—dignities, offices, lands, even the cancelling of treaties, as in the case of William the Lion of Scotland, who bought a release from the allegiance to which he had sworn in the treaty of Falaise.

Philip of France also had taken the cross, and met Richard at Messina, in Sicily, where they spent the winter together. It was not long before they quarrelled, at first because Richard captured Messina and claimed it as his own, and then because he wished to marry Berengaria of Navarre, although he was betrothed to Philip's sister Adela. But peace was made when Richard satisfied Philip's injured pride by paying him a large sum of money. Another action of Richard's in Sicily will explain his later imprisonment by the emperor. The king of the country, Richard's brother-in-law, had recently died and at this moment there was a dispute about the crown; Tancred, a warlike prince, was for the moment in possession, but Henry VI., King of the Romans, and afterwards Holy Roman Emperor, regarded himself as the rightful heir. Richard, however, concluded a treaty with Tancred, thus recognising him as king.

In the spring Philip set out for Acre, which was strongly held by the Turks, but Richard stayed to conquer Cyprus, whose emperor had captured part of his shipwrecked fleet, before rejoining him.

Capture of Acre.—The Christians had been besieging Acre for four years, Guy of Lusignan, ex-King of Jerusalem, thinking its recapture the first step towards the recovery of his kingdom. Saladin, the leader of the infidels, thought the town so important that he had brought a great army to besiege the besiegers, who now included the Dukes of Austria and Burgundy as well as the Kings of England and France. In the height of the summer Acre surrendered, and Philip of France, on the plea of ill-health, returned home (1191).

Victorious at Acre, the Christians were much weakened by their own dissensions; Leopold of Austria and Richard had quarrelled as to their share in the capture, and the whole host was divided by the rival claims to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem put forward by Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat. Under these disadvantages and hard pressed by the Turks, the Crusaders began their march on Jerusalem. The heat and the scarcity of supplies increased their difficulties, although a victory over the enemy at Arsuf, near Joppa, encouraged them. At last they arrived within twelve miles of Jerusalem itself, only to find it necessary to retire to Ascalon before venturing an attack upon the strongly fortified city. But when the French withdrew to Acre the position seemed hopeless; and although they afterwards came back, and, after Conrad's murder by the infidels, the claims to the kingdom were settled by the choice of Henry of Champagne, nephew

of both Richard and Philip, it was still found impossible to capture the city.

Richard in Prison.—Meanwhile Richard was disquieted by the news from England, where John had headed a rising of the barons against the government; so, concluding a three years' truce with Saladin, which secured an open passage for the Crusaders to Jerusalem, he hastened to return home (1192).

To return by sea and through France, whose king was his bitterest enemy, was impossible; to go overland through the territories of Leopold of Austria and Henry VI. of Germany, with both of whom he had quarrelled, was dangerous. But the latter was the quicker way, and Richard determined to make the attempt in disguise. In doing so, he fell into the hands of both his enemies, Leopold of Austria handing him over to Henry, now emperor.

John and Philip.—John, now giving out that Richard was dead, allied himself with Philip, and would most probably have secured the crown, in spite of the resistance of the barons, had not news of the king's imprisonment arrived with a demand for his ransom. Philip too had heard the news of the king's possible release. "Take care of yourself," he wrote to John; "the devil is loosed." Eventually the huge ransom was raised in England, and Richard returned after doing homage to the emperor for his kingdom (1194). After transacting necessary business he crossed over to Normandy to deal with John, who had not hesitated to join Philip in requesting the emperor to keep his brother in prison. But John knew that resistance was useless, and threw himself on Richard's mercy, which was granted him with good-natured contempt.

Château Gaillard.—The rest of Richard's reign was spent in France in war with Philip. In England the government was carried on by Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury and Justiciar, till he resigned in 1198 on account of the general discontent and the opposition to his taxation occasioned by the king's French wars. In the preceding year, during a lull in the war, Richard had built Château Gaillard, or the Saucy Castle, at Andely on the Seine—a standing menace to France, and the best possible protection for Rouen. But Richard did not live long enough to have much joy in his new castle, for he was killed in 1199 before the Castle of Chalus in the Limousin, while trying to compel its owner, one of his vassals, to surrender a great treasure which he had found on his lands.

CHAPTER V

JOHN

1204. Loss of Normandy. 1214. Battle of Bouvines.
1213. Homage to the Pope. 1215. Magna Carta.

Arthur of Brittany.—According to modern ideas the succession belonged to Arthur of Brittany, son of Richard's next brother, Geoffrey; but Richard himself, just before his death, had recognised his younger brother John as his heir, and the barons following the old English freedom of choice preferred a grown man to a young boy. Arthur, however, had powerful friends, including the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and the King of France. But the King of France had troubles of his own with the Pope, and found it advisable to acknowledge John as Richard's heir.

Loss of Normandy.—The new king's harsh measures in Poitou, and especially his marriage with Isabel of Angoulême, at that time betrothed to Hugh of Lusignan, son of the Count of La Marche, drove the Poitevin barons to appeal to his overlord, the King of France. John's refusal to appear in Philip's court was followed by the perfectly legal confiscation of all his French fiefs. Almost at the same time Arthur fell into his uncle's hands, and no one was much surprised when the young duke disappeared, while every one was ready to believe that he had been murdered. Philip now (1204) carried the sentence of confiscation into effect by conquering Normandy—a loss which

England then and for long afterwards thought a disgrace but has since thought one of her greatest gains. With Normandy went also Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; of all the English possessions in France, Aquitaine, and not all of that, alone remained.

John and the Pope.—In 1205 Archbishop Hubert died. The monks of Canterbury hastened to elect their sub-prior, but afterwards agreed to accept the king's nominee, the Bishop of Norwich. The Pope, appealed to by the bishops of the province, set aside both candidates, and persuaded the monks, who also had sent representatives to Rome, to elect Stephen Langton. John was so furious that he refused to allow the new archbishop to enter on his see, with the result that Innocent III. laid England under an interdict. Even now John refused to yield, and set about conquering Wales and Ireland; on Scotland too he imposed terms that seemed to restore the former vassalage.

At last, weary of negotiating with the obstinate king, Pope Innocent, himself really the most powerful prince in Europe, declared John deposed (1213), and ordered the King of France to invade England. Philip's eager equipment of a fleet brought John to reason, and he hastened to make his submission to the Pope. The terms of reconciliation were sufficiently humiliating: not only was Stephen Langton accepted as archbishop and all church property restored, but England itself was surrendered to Innocent, to be received back as a papal fief burdened with an annual payment of 700 marks.

Bouvines.—But the humiliation was of small account in John's eyes, for by it he had prevented the invasion

of Philip, whom the Pope now forbade to attack a vassal of the Holy See. John, however, immediately set about forming a coalition against France; Otto IV. of Germany, the Count of Flanders, and the Duke of Lorraine, with English troops under the Earl of Salisbury, were to attack from the east, while he himself, with such of his barons as he could persuade to follow him, threatened Paris from the west. But before he could achieve much in Poitou the coalition was utterly beaten by Philip at the battle of Bouvines (1214). There was nothing left for John to do but to make peace and return home, defeated and discredited, to face his discontented barons.

Magna Carta.—Throughout his reign the nobles had to suffer from all kinds of arbitrary exactions and violations of feudal laws. After the defeat at Bouvines a demand for scutage from those barons who had not followed him to Poitou brought matters to a head; they demanded a confirmation of the charter of Henry I. Many modifications of this demand were made and many attempts at delay and force took place before John was compelled to accept Magna Carta, the Great Charter imposed upon him by the barons (June 15, 1215). The really important thing to remember about the Charter is that it laid down once and for all the fundamental principle of our Constitution, that the king must not break the law. Its numerous chapters refer to all classes—barons, clergy, and merchants—but naturally from the circumstances of the time they pay more attention to feudal duties and customs than to anything else. There are, however, many clauses of the greatest

importance and applicable to any form of society, such as those which enacted that justice should be free and fair to all, that proper payment should be made for property required for public use, and that punishments should not be cruel or excessive. On the other hand, those chapters which deal with the definition of feudal dues, with wardship, marriage, and the like, were largely a restatement of actually existing law, whose violation by the king had hardly affected any one but the aristocracy.

It was, however, one thing to draw up a Charter, and another thing to compel the king to keep it; the machinery introduced by the barons to secure this was perhaps as important as all the rest of the Charter put together. Twenty-five barons, elected by their own order, were to be able to declare war against the king if he persisted in violating it, and together with the community of the whole realm they were to compel him to do justice in accordance with its provisions.

No sooner was the Charter sealed than John appealed to the Pope to be released from it. Innocent took his vassal's side and John took the field against the barons with a huge army of mercenaries. At first his vigour carried everything before it and the barons as a last resource called in Louis, son of Philip of France. But Louis was not an able general, and wasted time in besieging Dover Castle. On the other hand, John's strength was spent, and though he harried the Eastern counties on his way to meet the French, he was growing more and more ill. Dysentery and an indiscreet appetite carried him off, five months after the landing of Louis (1216).

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW ENGLISH NATION, 1216–1307

1216. Confirmation of the Charter—with Omissions.
1217. Fair of Lincoln. Treaty of Lambeth
1224. Fall of Faukes de Breauté. Franciscans come to England
1242. Loss of Poitou
1246. English Protests against Papal Exactions.
1258. Provisions of Oxford.
1265–66. Barons' War.
1279. Statute of Mortmain.
1282. Conquest of Wales.
1290. Quia Emptores.
1292. Award of Norham.
1295. Model Parliament.
1297. Confirmation of Charters.
1298. Battle of Falkirk.
1306. Robert Bruce, King of Scotland.
1307. Death of Edward I.

HENRY III

Minority of Henry III.—John's death brought about an entire change. With a child for king and with all power in their own hands the barons had no longer any need of Louis' help; indeed their one object was to be well rid of him. But even when after some little trouble, a battle at Lincoln and a sea-fight off Sandwich, they had succeeded in this, by forcing him to accept the Treaty of Lambeth, they found that government was no easy matter. First of all they appointed William Marshal regent, and made the young king swear to the Great Charter—with two significant omissions, articles 12 and 14. It required all the firmness of the new government, headed by the regent and Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, to make

head against John's old mercenaries. Faukes de Bréauté was especially troublesome and was only crushed in 1224. In any case order could hardly have been restored without the active support of the Pope, Honorius III., who was the real guardian of the young king, and regarded England as a vassal state of the papal see. Honorius gave Henry and his counsellors excellent advice and did his best to smooth the way for a reasonable settlement. The Pope's good intentions were at first ably carried out by his legate Pandulph; but there was friction afterwards between him and the Justiciar, and at Stephen Langton's request Pandulph was recalled. However, when the Pope's personal interest was removed and Gregory IX. succeeded Honorius III. (1227), the papacy's sole policy with regard to England was to extort money by every possible means. Here the king himself was a ready tool; devout and weak he sacrificed everything to the Pope's requirements, unable to see that one of the chief tendencies of the time was an ever-growing feeling of nationality.

Foreign Favourites.—This feeling he outraged too in another way. After John's death Queen Isabella had married Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche in Poitou. Very shortly England was invaded by a host of needy Poitevins, for whom the king had to provide. A Poitevin faction rose at court, and when they had secured the disgrace of Hubert de Burgh, Peter des Roches, their leader, succeeded to his high office. For a year or two there was a return to the old anarchy; the barons rose in arms under Richard Marshal and Hubert de Burgh; and although the former was defeated and slain in Ireland, Henry had to yield to

the influence of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, and dismiss his Justiciar. No new one was appointed, the king resolving to act for himself (1234).

No sooner had the Poitevins left than their place was taken by the Provençals, who came over with the new queen, Eleanor of Provence. One of her uncles, Peter of Savoy, was made Earl of Richmond, and another, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury. It only needed the king's disastrous expedition to France in 1242 to help his mother's husband, and the consequent loss of Poitou, to exasperate Englishmen still further against foreign influences.

Simon de Montfort.—Hitherto the leader of the baronial opposition had been the king's own brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Now when in addition to the foreigners the country was groaning under the burdens of the new Pope, Innocent IV., whose legate, Master Martin, was making unprecedented demands (1244), the earl began to give way to his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort. Simon was the son of the famous Simon de Montfort who had crushed the Albigenses in the south of France. On coming to England the younger Simon had gained Henry's favour so well that he was made Earl of Leicester and married to the king's sister Eleanor, widow of William Marshal. Himself a foreigner and therefore at first unpopular with the native nobility, he soon made a stand against the king's misgovernment, without, however, forfeiting his esteem. For five years (1248–1253) he acted as the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine, which, although shorn of Poitou, was extremely unruly and difficult to govern. He restored order, but he contrived to unite the whole province against him; complaints of harsh-

less and worse poured in upon the home government; the king, tired of his lieutenant's policy of

MAP OF AQUITAINE

"thorough," was only too glad of an excuse to get rid of him; an inquiry, or rather trial, was ordered, and although in spite of Henry's opposition it resulted

in Simon's acquittal it had made the further prosecution of his policy in Gascony impossible. Simon threw up his command in disgust and became the natural leader of the baronial opposition.

The Provisions of Oxford.—The king's acceptance from the Pope of the crown of Sicily for his son Edmund had brought matters to a head. The Council flatly refused to give any subsidies for the conquest of Sicily, and the clergy had to bear the full brunt of the Pope's, and the king's, rapacity. The barons, assembled in what their opponents called the Mad Parliament, drew up the *Provisions of Oxford*. These Provisions have two points of special interest: (1) a committee of fifteen barons was appointed to advise the king, and (2) this committee was made practically responsible to the barons. The king published his adhesion to the Provisions in English as well as in French. For a while, in spite of a quarrel between the baronial leaders, Simon and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, all went well. Prince Edward even, the king's eldest son, supported Simon so far as to secure his father's acceptance of the Provisions of Westminster, directed against the abuse of power by the sheriffs. But meanwhile the king had been intriguing with the Pope and had been absolved by him from his oath to observe the Provisions of Oxford. There was nothing for it but war.

However, both parties agreed to call in Louis IX., King of France, as arbiter. St. Louis, for all his saintliness, was still a mediæval king and not unnaturally decided every point in Henry's favour (Mise of Amiens, 1264). The barons rejecting his decision took up arms. The two parties met at Lewes and the

royalists, although somewhat superior in numbers, were defeated and the king captured. By the Mise of Lewes, concluded after the battle, Prince Edward also became a prisoner of war. Till proper arrangements for the government of the country could be made supreme power was placed in the hands of a committee of nine, acting with and for the king. But in the following year a Parliament was summoned.

Representative Government.—Simon is sometimes called the founder of the House of Commons, because he invited to this Parliament not only barons and churchmen, but also two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each borough. But we must not forget that as early as 1254 two representative knights from every shire, the basis of all local government, had been summoned to a royal council, and that on the present occasion Simon only invited his own partisans to attend. Even so a precedent had been created which would be followed in the near future by the very man who for the moment was Simon's prisoner. Unfortunately Simon's Parliament had little time to show its merits, for almost immediately its convener quarrelled with the young Earl of Gloucester; at the same time Prince Edward escaped, joined Gloucester, and took the field against Simon and such of the barons as remained with him. At the battle of Evesham Simon was defeated and killed. His followers held out for a time, but eventually had to accept the Dictum of Kenilworth which restored the King's power, annulled the Provisions of Oxford and pardoned the rebels on the payment of a heavy fine.

And yet something had been gained; Prince Edward had learnt much from Simon not only in

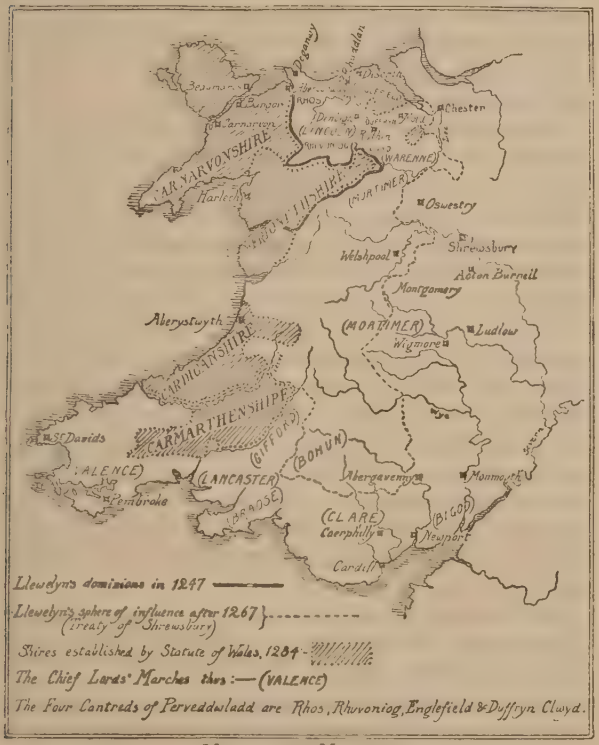
warfare but in statesmanship, as may be seen from the Statute of Marlborough, which practically re-enacted the Provisions of Westminster. The country settled down again into something like order, so that in 1270 Edward was able to go on Crusade. When his father died in 1272 he was still abroad, and did not return home till two years later.

EDWARD I

Edward's Legislation.—His first work struck one of the characteristic notes of his reign, for he immediately entered on a series of legislative enactments which gained for him the title of the "English Justinian." This legislation is for the most part of a strictly feudal character. In the first Statute of Westminster with which he led off, feudal dues, a matter of the utmost importance at that time, were clearly defined, and the freedom of Church elections was guaranteed. A little later came the Statute of Gloucester, regulating feudal jurisdictions, by issuing writs of *quo warranto*, to inquire by what warrant these jurisdictions were held. The answer of Earl Warrenne to the effect that his warrant was the good sword of himself and his ancestors showed at once the need for the statute and the difficulty of its enforcement. But undaunted, the king turned his attention to the position of the Church as an institution in a feudal state of society, and by the Statute of Mortmain checked the giving of land to corporations which were unable to perform feudal services.

Wales.—This legislative activity was interrupted by affairs in Wales. For nearly a century the princes of North Wales had been consolidating their strength

with very little interference from the English kings, although not without more or less regular opposition



MAP OF THE MARCHES

from the lords marchers. Early in the reign of Henry III., Llewelyn-ap-Iorwerth had profited by the confusion in England to proclaim his independence, and Edward had already had some experience of Welsh

ambition and power in ruling his earldom of Chester. Llewelyn the Great had married Simon de Montfort's daughter and played no small part in the barons' wars. In 1277, determined to exact homage, Edward invaded Wales, defeated Llewelyn and confiscated the modern county of Denbigh.

The principality now consisted of Merioneth, Carnarvon, and part of Montgomery, while Edward improved his position by building castles at Conway, Ruddlan, Hawarden, Carnarvon, Harlech, and Aberystwyth. At the same time he set up English institutions in the newly won territory, with the result that the Welsh again took up arms. Edward was now rewarded for his foresight in building the castles, for they enabled him to hem in the Welsh in the fastnesses of Snowdon; by cutting off supplies from Anglesey by his fleet he could starve them out. Llewelyn, who had slipped out, was killed in a skirmish on the Wye and all Wales was in Edward's hands before the end of 1283. By the Statute of Wales the principality was annexed to the English crown, and the English administrative system of shires was established

More Legislation.—Returning from Wales Edward again turned his attention to law-making. The second Statute of Westminster is chiefly memorable from its famous clause *De Donis Conditionalibus*, which set up the law of entail, making it illegal to divert estates, or part of them—from certain specified heirs. To the same year (1285) belongs the Statute of Winchester, mainly a restatement of the old Assize of Arms. But Edward's measure was as much a police as a military regulation, for it was concerned not only

with service in the field, but with the suppression of highway robbers and the security of civic life; it instituted, in a sense, Justices of the Peace. One more instance of Edward's laws must be noticed, as illustrating most clearly his own position as a feudal king; it is contained in the Third Statute of Westminster, and is best known by its opening words *Quia Emptores*. Its object was to check the system of transferring land to sub-tenants, by which the chief lords—and the king was chief lord of all—lost the usual feudal profits. By the new law all land transferred was to be held of the chief lords.

To carry out all this new legislation it was necessary to remodel the courts whose business it was to administer it. In the time of Henry I. there had been two main departments of English Law—the King's Court and the Exchequer; both were really the King's Council acting in committee, the former taking charge of law and justice in a general sense, and the latter concerning itself with all questions of finance. In course of time the King's Court split into the King's Bench, for cases in which the Crown was concerned, and the Court of Common Pleas where suits between subjects only were decided. But cases arose which lay outside the sphere of these courts, and which their recorded decisions did not seem to meet. They had to be referred to an outside authority, the Chancellor, who thus came to have a court of his own, the Chancery. The three earlier courts had been presided over by the Justiciar, but now that his office had fallen into abeyance, each court had its own Chief Justice assigned to it, who not only heard cases at Westminster, but went throughout the country

holding assizes in the county towns. Here they dealt chiefly with criminal, not civil, charges, and were assisted by a jury provided by the county court.

Scotland.—The interest of the latter half of Edward's reign lies in his dealings with France and Scotland; even his claim to be the real founder of the English Parliament as we know it must be traced back to these. In the case of Scotland Edward saw clearly the advantages that might come from a union with England. This union he sought to bring about by the traditional method of a marriage alliance, and it seemed in 1290 as if he had succeeded in securing a united Great Britain by concluding a treaty for the marriage of his eldest son with the young Queen Margaret of Scotland. But Margaret's death made that plan useless. A host of competitors put forward their claims to the vacant throne, and not unnaturally asked Edward to act as arbitrator. He consented, with the stipulation that he himself should be recognised as overlord, and then gave his decision (at Norham, 1291) in favour of John Baliol.

Baliol found himself in no easy position. On the one hand his own nobles could, and did, appeal against him to Edward; and on the other, Edward could make unreasonable and humiliating, even if perfectly legal, demands upon him. The Scottish nation soon came to the conclusion that the English overlordship was intolerable, and made it practically impossible for Baliol to remain loyal to Edward. A possible chance of escape came when in 1294 Edward found himself in difficulties owing to the French king's confiscation of Gascony on the plea that he had failed to carry out his feudal obligations as Duke of Aquitaine. Baliol

seized the opportunity to repudiate his allegiance, and made an alliance with France.

The Model Parliament.—Edward had his hands full; he had to meet trouble in Gascony, Scotland, and Flanders at the same time; Wales too had revolted. In his extremity he turned to his own people and called together the Model Parliament. Simon de Montfort's precedent was followed, and along with the barons sat knights of the shire and representative burgesses from the towns. Armed with the support of his own people, Edward first put down the Welsh revolt and then advanced against Baliol. Defeating the Scots at Dunbar, he overran the country as far as Forfar, and then, after deposing Baliol, took the government into his own hands. But affairs with France were critical, and Edward had to leave Scotland to three English regents.

Opposition of Clergy and Barons.—The king was eager now to settle matters with Philip, and had no difficulty in obtaining liberal supplies from Parliament; but in the thirteenth century the sinews of war were largely supplied by the wealthiest corporation of the time, the Church, and now when Edward and the nation were anxious for war the Church refused to contribute a penny. The new Pope, Boniface VIII., had a horror of war, and was especially indignant that the quarrels of princes were settled by the money of Churchmen; he had therefore recently issued a bull (*Clericis laicos*) forbidding the clergy to vote any supplies for the waging of war. In England it happened that the clergy's spokesman, Archbishop Winchelsea of Canterbury, was a devoted Churchman, and no mean politician. Edward's indignation and

fury were of no avail; when he outlawed the clergy those who yielded and contributed were excommunicated.

Almost at the same moment the king was involved in trouble with the barons. His plan of campaign was that while he himself should take an army to join Guy of Flanders and attack France on the north-east, another army should land in Gascony and attack from the south-west. The earls of Norfolk and Hereford were ordered to join the Gascon expedition, but they seized the occasion to settle old private injuries by standing upon their hereditary right as Constable and Marshal to accompany the king in person. A violent altercation broke out, and the discontented earls had soon mustered a force of 1500 men-at-arms to uphold their claim. By seizing wool and other merchandise to get money for the war, and by levying dues unsanctioned by Parliament, Edward soon drove the merchants and nation at large on to the side of the barons and clergy. Luckily for the king the Pope had already found his position untenable, and Winchelsea was able to advise his clergy to act individually each according to his own conscience. The barons too were more or less appeased by their attendance on the king oversea being made voluntary rather than obligatory, and the nation was so far won over by Edward's apology for his exactions on the score of national necessity that he gained his point and took a large army with him to Flanders. But little fighting ensued after all, and in the end the Pope, called in to arbitrate, not as Pope, however, but as a private individual, gave an award satisfactory to both parties.

The really important events connected with the

Flemish campaign took place in England, where the baronial opposition stopped all supplies till the regency undertook to reissue the charters and to have them ratified by the king in Flanders. Nor were the

MAP OF CENTRAL SCOTLAND, SHOWING SITES OF BATTLE-FIELDS

charters merely confirmed, for the barons inserted, in the form of a statute, a petition (*De tallagio non concedendo*) that henceforth no tallage or aid should be taken without the assent of Parliament; and although of course such a petition could have no binding force at the time, it assumed in subsequent disputes all the force of law. So it was recognised that even the best-intentioned king could no longer govern without the help and assent of the nation.

Scottish Independence.—Meanwhile affairs in Scotland were going badly. The English regents proved incapable, and only succeeded in provoking a national rising under William Wallace, an obscure Lanarkshire laird. His first success was at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, where with a force of spearmen he defeated

a large English army. But the Scottish nobility held aloof, and Edward was able to defeat him utterly at the battle of Falkirk. Falkirk is important because it is the first of a long series of battles where victory fell to the side which was able to combine the longbow and the cavalry charge. Without that combination to contend with, the Scottish spearmen usually gave a good account of themselves. Even after Falkirk, Edward's progress was slow, and it was not till the fall of Stirling in 1304 that he could claim to have conquered Scotland. By conquest was meant the remodelling of the government after the precedent set in Wales; Edward established his own direct lordship over the country, while he set up a legal and administrative system distinct from that of England. This was possible because when Wallace had been captured and hanged as a traitor, there was no leader to take his place. But when a leader arose in Robert Bruce, grandson of one of the claimants at Norham, who could unite Scottish longing for independence with loyalty to himself as king, the real difficulties of the English began. At first, indeed, he had to flee before the English armies and take refuge in the Western Isles, but, returning in 1307, he found himself at the head of an army capable of meeting Edward himself in the field. Edward advanced to meet him, but died on the Scottish border, leaving orders to his son to take his coffin forward at the head of the army that was to punish Bruce.

CHAPTER VII

TRANSITION PERIOD: EDWARD II

1311. The Ordinances. 1322. Boroughbridge and Repeal of the Ordinances
1314. Bannockburn.
1327. Edward deposed by Parliament.

Piers Gaveston and the Barons.—Prince Edward of Carnarvon, who now came to the throne, was not fitted to carry on his father's work either in war or in statesmanship. From the beginning he was unfortunate in his friends. He was brought up with a young Gascon, Piers Gaveston, who was more highly gifted than the prince, but used the great influence that he acquired only to enrich himself, and encouraged the prince in his frivolous pursuits. It is therefore not surprising to find that Edward, instead of attempting to crush Bruce, recalled Gaveston, who had been exiled by his father, made him Chamberlain, gave him his niece in marriage, and dismissed many of his father's advisers. In the next year (1308) he went to France to do homage for his duchy of Aquitaine. When there he married the French Princess Isabel, with whom he returned to England. It soon became plain that the new king, with only Gaveston to advise him, could not hold his own with his nobles. In 1308 some of these, including the earls of Hereford, Warwick, and Lancaster, insisted on the banishment of Gaveston; but in the following year, in return for concessions made by the king, Parliament allowed him to return.

The Ordinances of 1311.—Edward's methods of raising money were, no doubt, not good ones, and were certainly unauthorised, but the chief grievance of the nobles was that they were unable to obtain a share of the booty. By far the strongest of these barons was the king's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster. He was able and ambitious, and soon had behind him a number of nobles all anxious to remove Gaveston and redress grievances. In 1311 they chose a board of seven bishops, eight earls, and six barons to draw up Ordinances for the control of the king. The most important of these Ordinances were as follows:

1. Charters to be kept. 2. The king to make no gifts without the leave of the Lords Ordainers. 3. Customs to be collected by Englishmen. 4. Gaveston to be banished. 5. The king's ministers to be chosen with the consent of the baronage. 6. The king not to go to war or leave the country without the consent of the barons. 7. Parliaments to be held yearly.

Edward protested, but he had to submit and send Gaveston out of the country. Soon afterwards, however, he recalled him, upon which Lancaster and his friends took up arms. Gaveston was captured without any difficulty and was executed, and his head was carried to Edward. The king was too weak to avenge him, and became reconciled with the barons.

Bannockburn.—But he was unable to control them, and when Edward went north to raise the siege of Stirling (1314), Lancaster and his friends refused to go with him. Edward succeeded in raising a considerable force without their aid, and met King Robert at the Bannock River. The English forces were badly marshalled, and Robert won an easy victory

(Bannockburn, June 24, 1314). The king's ignominious defeat strengthened Lancaster's position, and although Edward's new advisers, the Despensers, seem to have been stronger men than Gaveston, they were unable to protect their master. In 1314 Lancaster made the king dismiss them and restricted him to a fixed income which he was not to exceed. From this year till 1322 the country was practically governed by Lancaster; but his rule was no improvement upon that of Edward.

Defeat of the Barons.—A quarrel now broke out between Roger Mortimer and the younger Despenser. Mortimer was backed by Hereford and Lancaster, and through their influence the Despensers were banished in 1321. Edward's fortune now changed, just when his affairs were at their worst. In the following year he contrived to subdue the Mortimers, to kill Hereford in battle, and to capture Lancaster, who was beheaded at Pontefract. The king was now his own master, the Ordinances were modified, and the Despensers were recalled. Edward's temporary success was due to luck, and he had not the ability to make it permanent. The Despensers soon made themselves as unpopular as Gaveston had been, and Edward's worst foe was to arise in his own family.

In 1323 Isabel and her little son went to France, the queen to excuse her husband for not coming to do homage for Aquitaine, and the prince to perform this duty for him.

Edward deposed.—In France the queen met Roger Mortimer, with whom she joined in a plan for invading England and usurping the kingly power. With money borrowed from her brother, the King of France, and

the help of the Count of Hainault, she raised troops and landed at Orwell (September 24, 1326) with Mortimer. Edward, deserted by all his friends, was unable to resist. The young prince was made Warden of the Realm, the Despensers were caught and hanged, and the king was imprisoned at Kenilworth. A Parliament held at Westminster deposed him in favour of his son, and eight months afterwards he was murdered at Berkeley Castle by Mortimer's orders (September 21, 1327).

The reign had been a sordid one, and adds nothing to the dignity of English history. A plague and a drought caused much misery among the people and undoubtedly added to Edward's difficulties; but his utter friendlessness in the last years of his life shows that his lack of moral qualities had made him impossible as a king even in an age which was not too particular about the character of its rulers.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALITY: EDWARD III

1328. Peace of Northampton.
1333 Halidon Hill.
1337. Beginning of the Hundred Years' War.
1340. Sluys.
1346. Crécy.
1349. The Black Death.
1356. Poitiers.
1360. Treaty of Bretigny.
1366. Tribute to Rome formally refused.
1367. Statute of Kilkenny.
1376. The Good Parliament.

The Young King.—As Edward III. was too young to reign, Parliament appointed a standing council of fourteen, with the Earl of Lancaster (brother of the late earl) as chairman, to look after his affairs. But the queen and Mortimer kept all real power in their own hands. In 1328 the Scottish war broke out again, and Edward, with his mother and Mortimer, marched north to drive the Scots out of England. The expedition was a failure, for the Scots took the English by surprise at night, killed a large number of them, and some nights afterwards stole away before the English could attack them in turn. The English were unable to pursue, and it was openly said that Mortimer had taken money from the Scots to allow them to get away without further fighting. Whether this was true or not, the Peace of Northampton (1328), by which Edward gave up all claims over Scotland, made the queen and Mortimer more unpopular than ever.

In 1330 the young king, who had married Philippa of Hainault, determined to take matters into his own

hands. Acting on the advice of Lancaster, he arrested Mortimer at Nottingham, and had him hanged on the charge of murdering Edward II. His mother he kept in confinement for the rest of her life, and it is to his credit that he always treated her with kindness.

Interference in Scotland.—Edward was energetic and adventurous, and as soon as he had firmly established his power he turned his attention to Scotland. Here a struggle was taking place between Bruce's heir, David II., and the son of Baliol. Edward saw his opportunity, and, taking Baliol's side, joined in the war. At Halidon Hill (1333) the English archers restored the English prestige by a great slaughter of Scottish knights, and for the time Baliol became King of Scotland. But even with Edward's aid he was unable to hold the country, and in 1339 David, who had fled to France, returned to Scotland as king. In any case Edward had no inclination to continue fighting in Scotland, for he was already meditating war with France.

Claim to the French Throne.—In 1328 his uncle, Charles IV., had died without children, and Edward claimed the throne. But the French barons had already refused to admit female succession when they chose Philip V. and Charles IV. as kings; so now they refused to have a stranger and an enemy who claimed in right of his mother. Edward, however, had other reasons for wishing to fight with France. The French king had given help to the Scots in their struggle with England; he had taken advantage of the difficulties of the English on the Scottish Border to invade Aquitaine, the centre of the wine trade, and he was anxious to get

possession of the weaving cities in the Low Countries, such as Ghent and Bruges, which we supplied with their raw material, wool. Thus Edward knew that a war with France would be popular with the leading classes and would keep his English nobles, some of whom were too strong for the king's comfort, well employed. Accordingly in 1337 he announced his intention of winning back "his lawful inheritance of France."

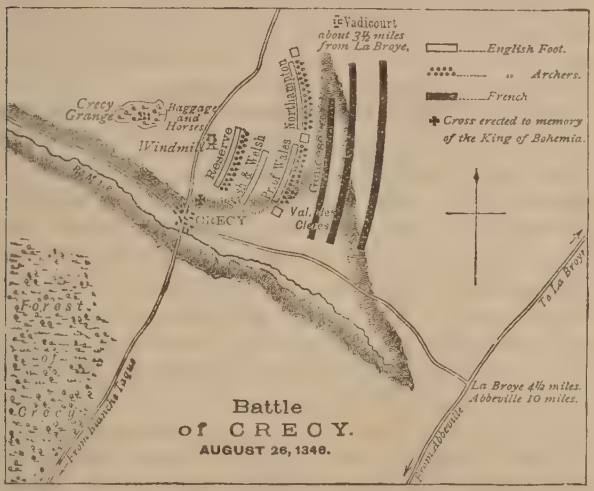
First Campaign.—The first campaign was on the border of Flanders, in which country Edward had landed. The English besieged Cambray, but failed to take it, and the French king, who was encamped close to them with a large army, refused to fight a pitched battle. Edward's money was exhausted, and he was forced to return home (1339). He was well received, and obtained a liberal grant from Parliament in return for various concessions. In the following year Philip massed his troops on the Flemish frontier, and collected a fleet of 500 ships at Sluys to prevent the English from landing. Edward sailed against them with 300 ships and won a decisive naval victory, which secured for England the command of the Channel. Edward then besieged Tournay, but his money ran short again, and he had to return to England for more.

Second Campaign.—The second campaign arose out of a dispute between Edward and Philip as to the succession in Brittany. The French were taking English merchant-ships in the Channel, and tried to seize Guienne, so that Edward was driven to declare war. He despatched an army to Gascony, and shortly afterwards, hearing it was hard pressed, set out with reinforcements for it. On the way he changed his mind, and, as the French were concentrated in the

south, determined to attack the north of France. Landing at La Hogue, he took Caen, and then, as he had no well-thought-out plan of campaign, determined to march through France to Flanders. He was unable to cross the Lower Seine, as Philip had destroyed the bridges on it, and, followed by Philip's forces on the other side of the river, had to march as far north as Poissy, where he was able to repair a broken bridge. The Somme now lay in his path, and to cross this he had to descend to Abbeville, near which town he found a ford at Blanchetache. In spite of the French he brought his troops across, and halted them on a hill-side near Crécy. The next day Philip arrived from Abbeville with his army, and rashly determined to attack without giving his men a night's rest. The Genoese crossbow-men, who were ordered to open the battle, complained that their strings were too wet to use; but the Constable of France only called them cowards and urged them on. As they advanced until they were within bowshot the English archers stood firm, but after the first volley the latter used their longbows, which were not so liable to be damaged by the rain, with such effect that the Genoese fled and threw their own side into confusion. The English archers made the best of their advantage, and fired volley after volley into the confused mass of men and horses, and a number of wild Cornishmen and Welshmen rushed into the thick of the fight on foot and killed many French knights with great knives.

The Black Prince, when hard pressed, sent for help to the king, who was on the hill. "Is my son dead, or hurt, or felled to the ground?" asked

Edward. "No sir, but hardly matched." "Then go back to them that sent you and tell them to send to me no more, whatever betide, as long as my son is alive, and bid them let him win his spurs, for, please



God, I wish this day and the honour thereof to be his and those that are with him." By sunset the French were routed and most of their commanders were killed. It only remained for the king to congratulate his son and say, "Sweet son, God grant you to go on as you have begun. You have quitted yourself well to-day; you are worthy to be a king."

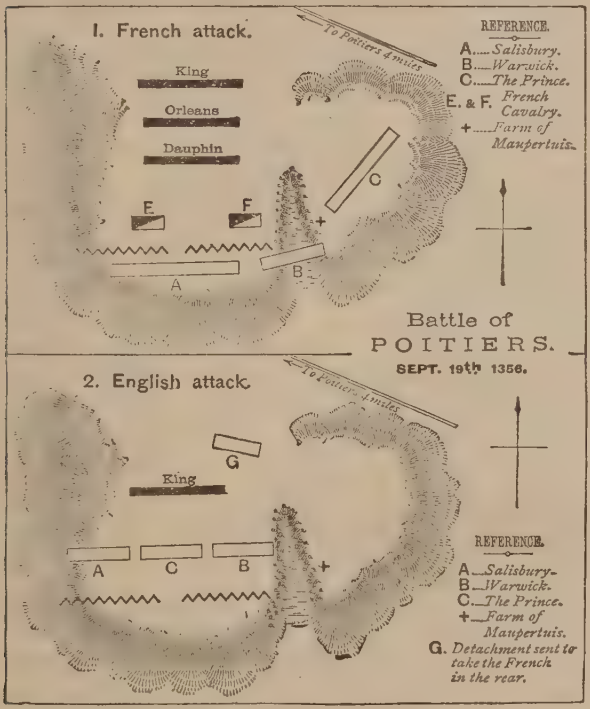
Edward now advanced on Calais, which, in spite of Philip's efforts to relieve it, he took after a protracted siege (1347). Many of the citizens were replaced by Englishmen, and during the remainder of the Hundred

Years' War Calais was an open gateway into France. The capture of Calais brought this campaign to an end, and Edward, whose success was due as much to luck as to military ability, returned to England. During his absence the English archers had rendered another service to their country by utterly defeating, at Neville's Cross (1346), David of Scotland, who had invaded England at Philip's request.

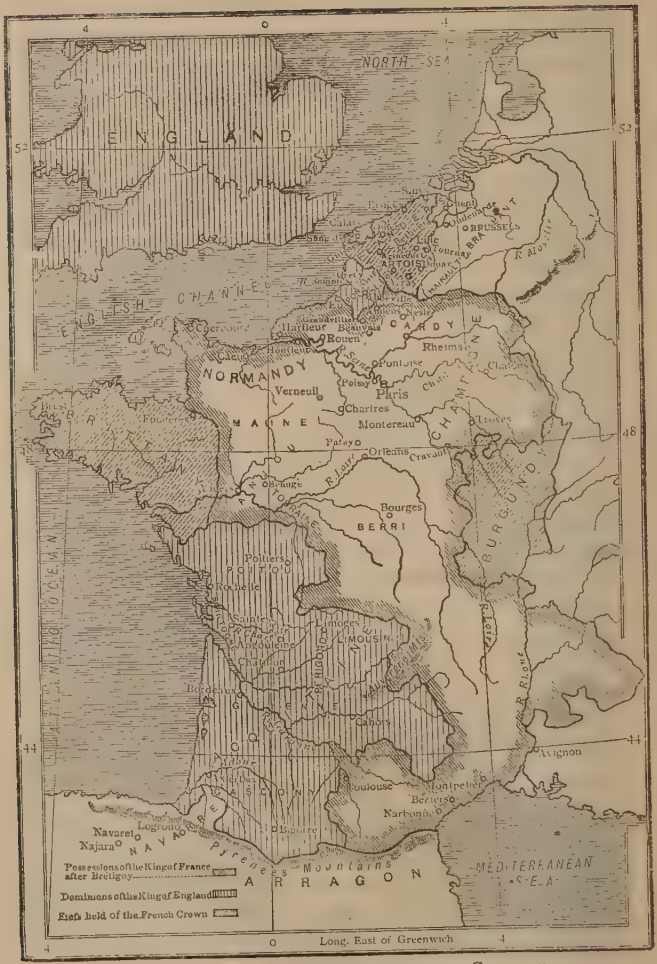
The Black Death and its Effects.—In 1348 a visitation of the plague called the Black Death diverted the attention of both France and England from war; for in both these countries half the population perished. In England the immediate result was legislation such as the *Statute of Labourers* and the displacement of agriculture by sheep-farming. Among the important laws of the period were the *Statute of Provisors* (1351), which was directed against the tendency of the Pope to divert to Rome the patronage of the English Church, and the *Statute of Præmunire*, (1353) which forbade the carrying of suits to Rome.

Third Campaign.—In 1355 the French war broke out again. King Edward was unable to take part in it, as he was detained at home by the Scottish war, and its conduct devolved upon the Black Prince, whose headquarters and court were at Bordeaux. From this base he plundered the country far and wide, meeting with little opposition. In 1356, when he was making a raid to the north-east, King John cut him off with an army four times as large. The Black Prince was compelled to fight with very little prospect of victory, but by skilful disposition of his men he won a signal victory at Poitiers (1356) and captured the French king, who was sent to England. Apart from the successes

of the English, a rising of the peasants, known as the *Jacquerie*, made the French disinclined to continue



the war, and in 1360 a peace was signed at Bretigny by which the English king was to give up his claims on the French throne, while retaining Calais and receiving Aquitaine in full sovereignty; a heavy ransom was to be paid for the French king.



MAP OF FRANCE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The Black Prince in Gascony. — The Black Prince remained at Bordeaux as Duke of Aquitaine, where he had some difficulty in holding his own. In 1370 the French king invaded Gascony, at the request of the Gascons, who complained of the prince's harshness. In return, the prince sacked Limoges and massacred the townsfolk. But in 1373 failing health forced him to return to England. The command in Gascony was taken over by his brother, John of Gaunt, who was not very successful in keeping back the French inroads.

Close of the Reign.—Edward's health was failing, and the Black Prince, from whom much had been expected, was an invalid. The management of affairs got into the hands of John of Gaunt, who lost no opportunity of diverting State money into his own purse, in spite of the spirited opposition of the Good Parliament (1376), during the sitting of which the Black Prince died.

Thus the end of Edward's reign was inglorious, and is rendered interesting chiefly through the rise of John Wyclif, who headed a national resistance to Church abuses. He was supported by John of Gaunt, who wanted him to counterbalance the influence of his enemy, William of Wykeham. But Wyclif can have had very little sympathy with the ways of his greedy patron.

CHAPTER IX

UNREST AND REVOLUTION: RICHARD II

381. Rising of the Commons.
1384. Death of Wyclif.
1388. The Merciless Parliament.
1398. The Parliament of Shrewsbury.
1399. Deposition of Richard.

General Discontent.—In 1377 the old king died, and Richard, son of the Black Prince, who had been named his heir by Edward in 1376, succeeded him. The interest of his reign centres in the selfish misrule of the barons and the king's attempt to master them. The French war was being badly conducted when Richard came to the throne, and this want of success and the taxes required to support our armies came as a climax to provoke smouldering discontent into revolt. In 1381 the Commons of England rose in arms; the new poll-tax served as a main pretext, but the real cause of the rising was social rather than political, and different parts of the country had different, and even opposing, grievances. But the consequences of the Black Death and the Statute of Labourers lay at the heart of the main movement; the peasants were beginning to realise that the attempt to keep them to the old villein services could not be enforced.

The leaders of the insurrection in the south were Wat Tyler and John Ball, a priest; marching from Kent, they entered London at the same time as another body of insurgents encamped just outside the city at Mile End. By his pluck and presence of mind the young king

saved the situation; he promised that grievances should be amended, and persuaded the rebels to return to their homes. But the government refused to carry out the king's pledges, and the insurrection was stamped out with the greatest severity. Yet in the end the objects of the rising were really attained, for the landlords had been thoroughly frightened, and found it impossible to continue to exact villein service; from this time onward serfdom fell rapidly into decay. Another effect of the rising was that Wyclif was prevented from preaching; many people thought that his "poor priests" had stirred up discontent, and Parliament called upon the Archbishop of Canterbury to proceed against him and his fellow-Lollards. The leisure thus forced upon him he used to translate the Bible (1382).

The King and the Barons.—The ill-success of the French war gave the barons an opportunity of interfering with the king's government. In 1386, led by Thomas of Gloucester, the king's uncle, they impeached the chancellor, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and persuaded Parliament to nominate a council of eleven for one year to regulate the kingdom and the royal household. When in 1387 Richard got the Judges to declare the council illegal, the Lords Appellant—so called because they appealed the ministers of treason—took up arms and won the battle of Radcot Bridge. The government was now in their hands and in 1388 the Merciless Parliament impeached the king's favourites, especially Suffolk and De Vere, recently made Duke of Ireland. A year later, however, Richard declared himself of age, took affairs into his own hands, and ruled wisely and well for eight years.

The Church legislation of Edward's reign (*Provisors* and *Præmunire*) was re-enacted, and peace was secured with France.

The King's Absolute Rule and Deposition.—It was not till 1397 that Richard decided to take revenge on the Lords Appellant: Gloucester was sent to Calais, where he died; Arundel (brother of the archbishop) was beheaded; Warwick was imprisoned for life. In the next year the Parliament of Shrewsbury simply registered Richard's will by annulling all the acts of the Merciless Parliament, granting customs to the king for life, and deputing all its powers to a committee of eight of its members.

Among the Appellants had been Henry of Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, and Nottingham; but of late years they had supported the king and had recently been created Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. In 1398 they quarrelled, and Hereford denounced Norfolk as a traitor. It was arranged that they should fight out their quarrel in the king's presence, but at the last moment Richard forbade the combat and banished them both, not sorry, perhaps, thus to repay all old scores.

The Revolution.—When John of Gaunt died at the beginning of 1399 Richard seized his estates; by the recent death of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, in Ireland there were only two young children, Edmund Mortimer and his sister Anne, between the disinherited Duke of Hereford and the succession to the throne. While Richard went off to Ireland Hereford landed in England to claim his father's estates; joined by the regent, Edmund of York, he was soon at the head of an army. His popularity and great territorial

influence enabled him to go further than he originally intended, and when Richard returned from Ireland it was only to find himself compelled to surrender to his cousin. The arbitrary taxation of the last two years and the apparent harshness of his treatment of Bolingbroke had produced a reaction against him. Parliament accepted the abdication which Richard was compelled to make and passed an act setting forth its reasons for doing so. Hereford—or Lancaster, as he now was—claimed the vacant throne, and was duly elected king by Parliament. His claim by descent from Henry III. was not meant very seriously; his present power and the king's recent misgovernment were far more to the point. Parliament was glad enough that the usurper was powerful and popular; it had no scruples as to the rights of a mere minor, Edmund of March.

CHAPTER X

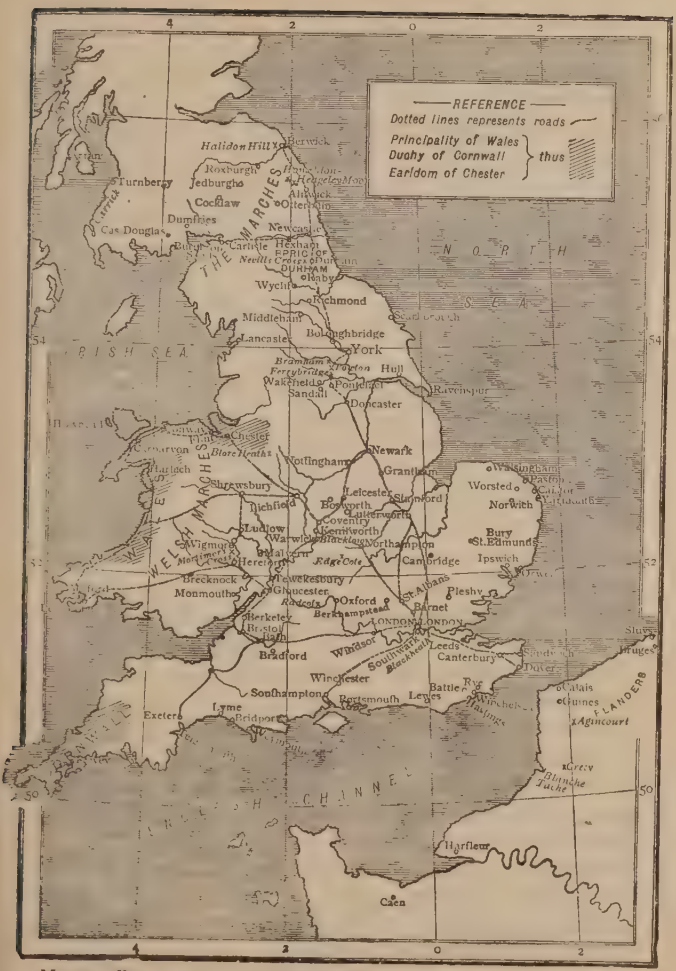
THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER

HENRY IV

1401. Statute De hæretico comburendo.
1403. Battle of Shrewsbury.

The Strength of Parliament.—Richard's friends immediately plotted for his restoration, but they received no popular support and were executed either by Henry or, in some cases, by the mob. On the other hand, Parliament, which had really elected the new king, was in a position to control him; one of its first actions was to insist upon redress of grievances before voting supplies. In 1406 Parliament not only nominated the members of the king's council, but demanded an audit of grants made to him, which were now vested in the Commons only.

Alliance with the Church.—As Richard had at one time been suspected of favouring the Lollards (his wife, Anne of Bohemia, belonged to the same country as Huss the Reformer) Henry was careful to have the Church on his side from the first. In 1401 the statute *De hæretico comburendo* was passed for the burning of heretics, and its first victim was a Lollard priest, William Sawtre. This alliance between the Church and the Crown was of the utmost importance to both parties; the wealth of the Church exposed it to the rapacity of Parliament, and the Lancastrians, by beating off the attack, gained the support of the



Map of England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Church in a war policy which was primarily intended to attract the nobility. The first move against the coveted wealth was made in 1404 by the "Unlearned" Parliament, which derived its name from its exclusion of lawyers; it was there suggested that the revenue of the clergy for one year should be handed over to the Crown. A similar proposal was made in 1410.

The King's Difficulties.—A quarrel which broke out in 1400 between Owen Glendower, a Welsh chieftain, and Lord Grey of Ruthven led in the first place to a national Welsh revolt, and then to a confederacy against Henry's power in England. In 1402 Glendower captured Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the Earl of March, and brother-in-law of Henry Percy (Hotspur), son of the Earl of Northumberland. In the same year a Scottish raid was checked by the Percys at Homildon Hill and the Douglas taken prisoner. When the king demanded that the Percys should surrender their prisoner, and at the same time refused to ransom Edmund Mortimer, the Percys, who, after all, had helped Henry to the throne, attempted to join Glendower in Wales. Before they could do so they were intercepted by Henry at Shrewsbury and defeated, Hotspur being slain (1403).

Although Glendower, with fresh help, still held out in Wales, the king was lucky enough to make sure of peace from Scotland by capturing the heir to the Scottish throne on his way to France. In England, too, a serious rising was suppressed (1405) by the defeat of the Earl of Northumberland, Scrope, Archbishop of York, and Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. When in 1408 Northumberland revolted for the third time, but was defeated and killed at Bramham Moor, Henry

had only one serious enemy left to deal with—Owen Glendower, who had become Prince of Wales. Even when Glendower was defeated in 1409, he still held out in the Welsh hills and retained a sort of independence.

War with France.—To distract attention from the rather unsatisfactory state of affairs in England, Henry decided in 1411 to intervene in France. That country was being torn by civil war; the king, Charles VI., was mad, and the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy were fighting for the chief power. Orleans had been murdered by his opponents, and his followers, usually known as Armagnacs, were thirsting for revenge. Burgundy invited Henry's help, and with it defeated the Armagnacs; by a change of policy next year English troops ravaged Normandy and Guienne in favour of the Armagnacs. In 1413 the king died, and was succeeded by his son, Henry V.

HENRY V

1415. AGINCOURT. 1420. TREATY OF TROYES.

Success of the War Policy.—Henry V. was young and ambitious, intent, above all, on strengthening his family upon the throne. The stories of his wild youth have been probably much exaggerated, and may amount to little more than that he opposed the general policy of his father's government. At any rate, he had already had considerable experience in affairs, and, once on the throne, formulated a policy of his own with energy and sound judgment. Holding to the alliance with the Church, already entered into by his father, he put down heresy and Lollardy with a firm hand; Sir John Oldcastle and his Lollard followers were suppressed, and many of them burnt.

Sure of the Church, he set himself to gain the nobility, to whom he held out the attraction of a great war which should recall the successes of Edward III. Once loyally supported by the Church and the nobles, he might hope to gain the mastery over Parliament.

It was with these ideas in his mind that Henry laid claim to the throne of France, on the same grounds as had been put forward by Edward III. It really did not matter to him that that claim, as advanced by him, was infinitely more absurd than when it had been advanced by his great-grandfather, or that, if any such claim existed, it had passed not to him, but to the Earl of March. He knew that France was divided by civil war, and that therefore he had all the chances in his favour. France knew this too, and offered to cede Aquitaine, but the offer was rejected.

Just as he was embarking for France Henry discovered a plot for placing the young Earl of March on the throne; the Earl of Cambridge, son of Edmund, Duke of York, was executed, along with some other conspirators.

Agincourt.—Henry's immediate object was to reduce Normandy, and for this purpose he laid siege to Harfleur. After storming it with some difficulty, for sickness had carried off large numbers of his troops, he began a march on Calais. Crossing the Somme higher up the river than he had intended, since the ford of Blanchetache was strongly held, he found the French army between him and his objective. The Battle of Agincourt was fought on October 25, 1415, on a narrow front, flanked by woods. The French had no room to fight, and their heavy infantry were impeded by the sodden ground. The English

archers poured in volley after volley from under cover, and when they had utterly demoralised the exposed enemy a general charge drove the defeat home.

Henry made little use of his victory; indeed, his army was so reduced in numbers that he was glad to enter Calais and sail home almost immediately. But the effect in England was as he expected; success had aroused national enthusiasm, and all classes were eager to continue the war.

The Treaty of Troyes.—In 1417 Henry again invaded France, and set about the thorough conquest of Normandy; by 1419 he was in possession of Rouen. The quarrels between the rival French factions played into his hands, especially when the Duke of Burgundy was murdered by the Dauphin and the Armagnacs. The new duke, with the queen's consent, immediately allied himself with the English against the Dauphin, and in 1420 the Treaty of Troyes was signed. By it Henry became regent of France during the life of the insane king, married Katharine, his daughter, and was declared his heir; it was stipulated that England and France should remain independent.

While Henry was crowning Katharine in England, his brother, the Duke of Clarence, was defeated by the Armagnacs and Scots at Beaugé. Hurriedly returning to France, Henry had another successful campaign; but in 1422, on his way to help his ally in Burgundy, he died, before he was able to reap any of the advantages he expected from the brilliant success of his policy. King Charles of France died in the same year, and thus, by the Treaty of Troyes, the infant Henry VI. became King of France and England.

HENRY VI

1429. Relief of Orleans.
1453. Complete Loss of France.
1455. Beginning of the Wars of the Roses.
1460. Battle of Wakefield.
1461. Battle of Towton.

Loss of France.—On his death-bed Henry had commanded that his brother John, Duke of Bedford, should act as regent in France, while another brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, should hold the same office in England. This arrangement was more or less carried out, except that Humphrey was given a council to assist him, including his uncle, the Chancellor, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

Bedford's great object as regent was to retain the friendship of Burgundy, and with this in view he married the duke's sister; by further strengthening himself by an alliance with the Duke of Brittany he was able to keep his hold on northern France. In 1423 a victory at Crevant kept open his communications with Burgundy, and in 1424 another at Verneuil had the same effect with regard to Brittany. But Bedford's capable leadership was seriously embarrassed by the indiscretion of his younger brother in England. Gloucester had managed to quarrel both with the Duke of Burgundy over the inheritance of his wife, Jacqueline of Hainault, and with the Bishop of Winchester. The latter dispute Bedford patched up during a visit to England in 1426.

Joan of Arc.—Already master of the north of France, Bedford in 1428 laid siege to Orleans—the first step to the conquest of the south, still held by the Dauphin. At this most critical juncture the French found a leader

in Joan of Arc, a peasant girl from Domrémi, on the Meuse, who persuaded herself and the Dauphin that she was sent by Heaven to rid France of the English. Her presence in Orleans fired her countrymen with a new enthusiasm ; in 1429 the English raised the siege, and Joan went to Tours to insist that the Dauphin should be crowned at Rheims. The English were defeated at Patay and Lord Talbot taken prisoner. But after Charles's coronation the war still went on ; in 1430 Joan was captured at Compiègne in making a sortie from the town and handed over by the Burgundians to the English. Without a protest from Charles she was burnt as a witch at Rouen.

French Successes.—In spite of Joan's great work the English were still the real masters of France; Henry VI. was crowned king at Paris in 1431. But English power was largely dependent on the alliance with Burgundy, and many causes were working to weaken that alliance; it received a severe blow when the Duke of Bedford married Jacquetta of Luxembourg without consulting her overlord, the Duke of Burgundy. An ominous sign of change was shown at the Congress of Arras (1435), in which the French offered the cession of Normandy and Guienne if the English king would renounce his claim to the French throne; when the terms were rejected Burgundy renounced the English alliance. In the following year Charles VII. captured Paris.

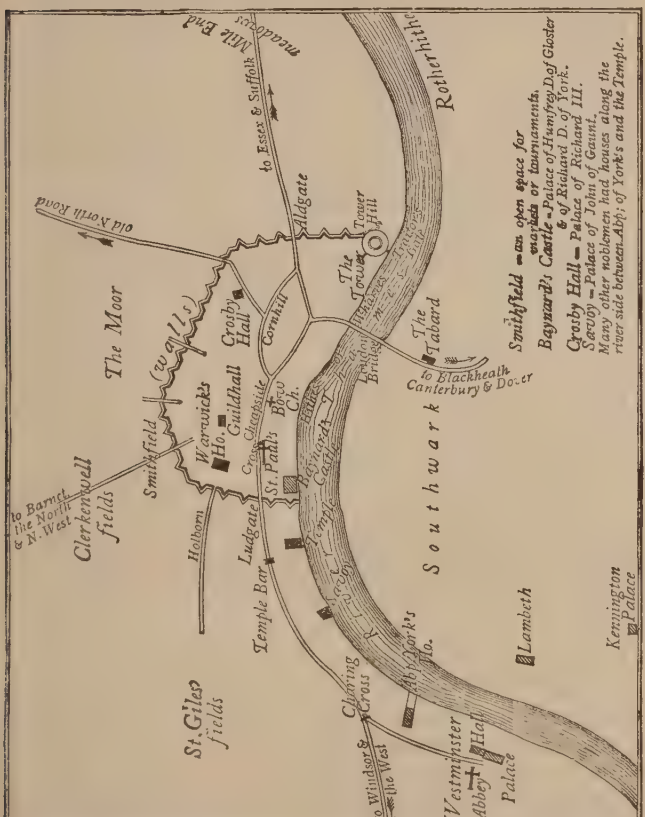
Parties in England.—When Bedford died in 1435 the struggle between Gloucester and Beaufort was renewed with increased bitterness. They were divided now on the question of foreign policy ; Beaufort and his party were working for peace, and had lately appointed the

Duke of Somerset, Beaufort's nephew, as regent in France. Strengthened by the king's support, they negotiated the Treaty of Tours (1444), which arranged a marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, a cousin of Charles VII. Gloucester was now quite discredited; he was soon arrested for high treason, and died suddenly, in the same year as his opponent, Cardinal Beaufort. It is worth noting that in this year (1447) Richard, Duke of York, was heir-presumptive.

Meanwhile the French had little intention of keeping the truce; in 1449 they succeeded in winning back most of Normandy. The responsibility for the mismanagement of affairs in France was thrown on the king's chief adviser, the Earl of Suffolk; he was impeached and banished; overtaken on the voyage, he was murdered at sea. The results of the war affected England in other ways also; the barons, no longer kept busy in France, could fight out private feuds at home; heavy taxation and weak government incited a rebellion of "the commons of Kent" under Jack Cade (1450). Politics had a place in their grievances, for, besides asking for reforms in administration and taxation, they insisted upon the recall of the Duke of York from Ireland. The rebellion was suppressed, but the Duke of York returned home and put himself at the head of the opposition; at the same time Somerset returned from France, where hardly an inch of ground remained in English possession. The actual end, however, did not come till two years later; Guienne was lost in 1451, and Talbot was defeated and slain at Castillon in 1453. Calais alone remained.

The Wars of the Roses.—The Dukes of York and Somerset were now the leaders of the opposing parties;

when Henry became insane in 1454 the former was



SKETCH MAP OF LONDON IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

made Protector and the latter was arrested. But the king's first act on his recovery was to dismiss the

Protector and to recall Somerset. York immediately took up arms, nominally to protect the king, and was joined by the Nevilles (the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick). At the first battle of St. Albans (1455) Somerset was killed and the king captured. Another attack of insanity made York Protector once more, till the king's recovery brought about a public reconciliation between the rival parties.

The truce was hollow from the start. In 1459 the queen attempted to arrest the Earl of Salisbury, but her party was defeated by him at Bloreheath. However, the victors soon suffered a reverse at Ludlow and had to fly the country—the Nevilles to Calais and York to Ireland. In the ensuing Parliament, held at Coventry, the Yorkists were attainted of high treason. Returning, however, they defeated and captured the king at Northampton (1460).

The Yorkist Claim to the Throne.—The Duke of York now claimed the throne, but Parliament decided that he should merely be regarded as Henry's heir. As this meant the disinheritance of her son, the queen took up arms and defeated her opponents at Wakefield (1460). York was killed in the battle, and Salisbury was executed soon after it. This success was followed up by another in the next year, when the Earl of Warwick (Salisbury's son) was defeated by the queen at the second battle of St. Albans, in his attempt to bar her way to London. While she hesitated to march on the capital York's son and heir anticipated her. The Londoners, with whom Margaret was very unpopular, received him with enthusiasm, and he was proclaimed king as Edward IV. But Margaret was still in the field, retreating to the

Lancastrian stronghold in the north. Edward set off in pursuit and won a decisive victory at Towton (1461). Margaret, with her husband and son, fled northwards and took refuge in Scotland.

The primary reason for the Lancastrian downfall was no doubt the failure in France. But there were other causes: the weakness of the Government and the consequent anarchy in the country made the nation long for a strong centralised power; the mismanagement of the finances estranged the great towns and the trading classes; and Margaret of Anjou was intensely unpopular.

CHAPTER XI

THE HOUSE OF YORK

EDWARD IV

1471. Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.
1475. Treaty of Pecquigny.
1477. Caxton introduced Printing into England.

Continuance of Civil War.—Although Edward was now crowned king, the war was by no means over. In 1464 Somerset revolted, but was defeated, along with Margaret, at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham. At the same time Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville estranged Warwick and the older nobility, who moreover found their foreign policy opposed by the queen's relatives. That foreign policy was an alliance with France; Edward, on the other hand, preferred an alliance with Burgundy, which he secured by marrying his sister Margaret to Duke Charles the Bold. This friction seemed more serious when in 1469 the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, joined Warwick's party and married his daughter Isabella.

Warwick the Kingmaker.—Anxious to find a pretext for bringing matters to a head, Clarence and Warwick lent their support to a northern peasant revolt under Robin of Redesdale, and after defeating the royal forces at Edgecote Field they kept the king a prisoner. A short-lived reconciliation was followed by an unsuccessful rebellion in Lincolnshire; Clarence and Warwick fled to France, and were there reconciled to Margaret of Anjou. Prince Edward, Margaret's son,

was married to Warwick's daughter Anne. The allies now invaded England; Edward fled to Flanders, and Henry VI. was restored (1470). But next year Edward returned with Burgundian help, and, joined by Clarence, was welcomed back to London. In a battle fought at Barnet (1471) Warwick was defeated and killed. On the same day Margaret had landed at Weymouth, and began to march northwards; but she was overtaken and defeated by Edward at Tewkesbury, where Prince Edward, her son, was killed. A fortnight later Henry VI. died in the Tower.

A Strong and Popular Government.—Although the Wars of the Roses were waged chiefly by the nobles and their immediate retainers, they inevitably interfered with trade and the general prosperity of the country. Most Englishmen were therefore well satisfied that a king who gave them peace and security should have a free hand. So when Edward made an alliance with Burgundy against France, not only did Parliament vote large supplies, but the wealthier classes paid benevolences or forced loans without a murmur. As a matter of fact, no war happened; Louis XI., King of France, bought a peace at Pecquigny (1475) by paying Edward's war expenses and promising him a large pension. In any case, Edward would have received very little help from his ally, who was soon involved in a disastrous war with the Swiss. In the end Louis XI. gained Burgundy.

The rest of Edward's reign was spent in peace; his close attention to business and his encouragement of trade and commerce enabled him to dispense with Parliament almost entirely. He died in 1483, leaving a young son twelve years of age.

For one thing his reign is especially memorable; in 1477 William Caxton introduced printing into England. He set up his press in the shadow of Westminster Abbey, and began to translate works, chiefly from the French, and to publish them by this new means. Naturally these works were largely chivalrous romances and tales such as would appeal to his noble patrons.

EDWARD V AND RICHARD III

1485. Battle of Bosworth.

A Minority and a Usurpation.—The young king, Edward V., was at first in the care of his mother's relatives, Lord Grey and Lord Rivers, but his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, arrested them and got the boy into his own hands. Made Protector, Gloucester attacked the new nobility created by Edward IV., and executed Lord Hastings, its leading representative. His next step was to receive a petition declaring that he was the rightful heir to the throne, and, chiefly by the help of the Duke of Buckingham, he had himself crowned king as Richard III. The young Edward and his brother Richard, Duke of York, he imprisoned in the Tower.

The Duke of Buckingham considered that his services had not been sufficiently rewarded, and he therefore headed a rebellion, along with Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond; but Buckingham was captured and executed, and the earl fled oversea.

In 1484 Richard's son died, and John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, was declared heir to the throne. The young princes in the Tower had already been murdered. Richard was shrewd and energetic; by allowing Parliament to declare benevolences illegal

and to pass other enactments favourable to trade he kept his hold on London.

The Earl of Richmond was the last representative of the House of Lancaster, his mother, Margaret Beaufort, being descended from John of Gaunt by his third wife, Catharine Swinford; in 1485 he made a bid for the throne. Landing at Milford Haven with a small force, he had nearly reached Leicester when Richard met him at Bosworth Field. The battle was won by Lord Stanley's desertion to Henry at a critical moment. Richard fell fighting bravely, and his enemy was crowned king on the field.

CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY

Charlemagne's Empire.—In A.D. 476 Rome ceased to be the capital of an empire. On the ruins of Roman power arose the Teutonic kingdoms of Western Europe. At first, in Italy itself, Goths and then Lombards established themselves, while by the end of the sixth century Gregory the Great had done much to consolidate the power of the Papacy. Outside Italy the Franks held the middle and lower banks of the Rhine, and the Burgundians occupied the valley of the Rhone. The conversion of Clovis, King of the Franks, to Catholic Christianity in 496 secured him and his people the permanent support of the Church, which was glad of an ally against Gothic and Lombardian heretics. But after the death of Clovis the Frankish power decayed, till in course of time the Merovingian line of Frankish kings was displaced by their chief ministers or mayors of the palace. Even before they assumed the kingship the mayors of the palace were the most powerful princes in Europe; for instance, it was Charles Martel who really decided that Europe should be Christian and not Mohammedan by defeating the Moors at Tours in 732. In 751 Pippin, son of Charles Martel, was anointed King of the Franks by the Pope, and on Christmas Day 800, Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, after defeating the Saxons, the Saracens, and the Lombards, was crowned Emperor of Rome. Under Charles,

literature and education revived; scholars like Alcuin of York were made welcome at his court.

The Holy Roman Empire.—It would have been difficult in any case to administer so huge an empire from one centre, but the incursions of the Northmen made it almost impossible. In 843 the empire was divided among Charlemagne's three grandsons. To the elder, Lothair, fell the imperial title and Lotharingia, or the central portion from the mouth of the Rhine southwards into Italy; the lands to the east—the beginnings of Germany—provided a kingdom for Lewis, and those to the west—the beginnings of France—another for Charles. But the Carlovingian empire did not last long, for Charlemagne's line died out in 918, and Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony, became King of Germany, if we may give that name to the collection of feudal and almost independent duchies of which Saxony, Franconia, Lorraine, Suabia, and Bavaria were the chief. Henry's son, Otto the Great, became King of Italy also in 951, and in 962 revived Charlemagne's empire in a new form; he was crowned by the Pope Emperor of "the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation."

Struggle with the Papacy.—For the next few centuries the history of Europe is the history of the struggle for supremacy between the Empire and the Papacy. Instead of consolidating their power at home, the German kings were preoccupied with their position in Italy, and in their pursuit of an imperial shadow they neglected Germany. By the "Empire" then in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries we must understand the kingdoms of Germany, Burgundy, and Italy —the strength of the whole lying in Germany, which included much territory west of the Rhine (Brabant and Lotharingia); Italy did not extend far south of Rome, for farther south still was the kingdom of

Naples. The ruler of this empire was the King of Germany, elected by the German nobles, and they usually elected the son or most powerful kinsman of the previous king. The king of their choice sometimes succeeded, but more often did not succeed, in securing the obedience of Italy; he alone had the right to claim coronation as emperor at the hands of the Pope. Till he was crowned he was known as King of the Romans. In later times, from about the middle of the thirteenth century, the election of the German king passed into the hands of seven *electors*.

The ablest champion of the Church against the encroachments of the empire was Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), who in an investiture contest, which was really the same as that waged between Anselm and Henry I., compelled the Emperor Henry IV. to make a most humiliating submission at Canossa in 1077. A hundred years later the struggle for supremacy was renewed, and had the same result. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190) had attacked the cities of Northern Italy and had driven Pope Alexander IV. from Rome. But his army was attacked by the plague and he had to submit.

Guelfs and Ghibellines.—Barbarossa's son, Henry VI., as we have seen in the account of the Third Crusade, married Constance, heiress to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as was the name now given to the old kingdom of Naples and the newer one of Sicily; as their son Frederick was too young to succeed his father in 1197, by the influence of Pope Innocent III. the empire fell to Otto IV. Pope Innocent was the most powerful sovereign in Europe. John in England and Philip Augustus in France both felt his power; and

when Otto tried to make himself King of the Two Sicilies, Innocent transferred his kingdom and the imperial title to the young Frederick. The battle of Bouvines (1214) ruined Otto's chances of success ; but in spite of earlier favours Frederick II. as Emperor became the most determined enemy the Papacy ever had. During his reign his supporters, called Ghibellines, and the Papal party, called Guelfs, began that long quarrel which divided every city of Italy for centuries. Frederick died in 1250, when the struggle with the Papacy was at its height ; but a few years afterwards his line (the Hohenstaufen) was extinguished by the Papacy in alliance with Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, King of France.

England and the Empire.—At this point the history of the Empire touches the history of England at more than one point. The Pope, eager to find a rich candidate to oppose the Hohenstaufen, offered the crown of Sicily to Henry III.'s son Edmund (1255), and in 1257 Richard of Cornwall was elected King of the Romans. But the electors were divided, and three of them declared that Alfonso X. of Castile was the lawfully elected king. Richard was unable to exercise much real power in Germany or to get crowned at Rome, and there was no Emperor elected at all till 1293.

Degradation of the Papacy.—The Papacy too had lost much of its prestige. From 1305 to 1377 in consequence of French violence, the Popes lived under what amounted to French control at Avignon ; this period is known as the Babylonish captivity. Then in 1378 the Great Schism broke out—when the cardinals elected rival Popes—and this was not ended till the Council of Constance in 1414. From then till the end of

the fifteenth century the Popes were chiefly concerned in getting together a temporal kingdom, known as the States of the Church, and in administering it as Italian princes.

The House of Hapsburg.—In the fourteenth century the imperial title passed definitely to the Hapsburg family, and in 1356 the Golden Bull strengthened the position of the electoral princes at the expense of the emperor. With the weakness of the central power came the growth of nationalities, and of these nationalities France, England, and then Spain were the strongest. In the sixteenth century the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V. happened also to be king of extensive hereditary possessions, and for a time the empire regained something of its old prestige. From his grandfather Ferdinand, he inherited Spain, Sardinia, and the Two Sicilies; through his grandfather Maximilian he was Archduke of Austria, and from his grandmother he inherited the Netherlands; in addition he was master of the wealth of America. But the troubles arising out of the Reformation, and the fact that Austria was, after Charles V.'s abdication (1556), the sole hereditary possession of the emperor, reduced it to impotence.

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Class Distinctions.—Political events have little meaning or interest unless we know something about the conditions under which the general life of a nation is being lived. We cannot really understand the history of a country till we have a sort of background in the ordinary social life of the people; that background must include as a minimum some sketch of the different classes of the population in peace and in war, at home and at market, and it must give some notion of their ideals as reflected in art and education.

When the English invaders came to this island they found a civilisation superior to their own; the cities of the Roman-British were especially unfamiliar to them, and were accordingly attacked and destroyed. They themselves were an agricultural people, and rather dreaded the enclosed fortresses of the enemy; it took them a century and a half to recognise that cities like Bath and Gloucester might profitably be preserved. Their national organisation in the end came to be based upon the shires. Without following the process of development in detail, we may say that in the Old English period society was divided into three clear divisions, king, thegn, and ceorl, and that local administration was equally clearly subdivided into shire, hundred, vill (township), and manor. The landholders of the shire met in the shire moot under

the presidency of the sheriff (the king's officer), and by representatives from the subdivisions gave judgment on the cases which were brought before them. The hundred, originally no doubt an association of families, and then the name given to the district inhabited by them, had a similar representative system and tried similar cases, with an appeal to the shire moot. The vill was the generic name for a township and varied greatly in size, but it would be bound together by the fact that its members would plough their fields in common and graze their cattle upon common land. But as land was the source of all national taxation, the most important institution of the time is the unit for the payment of taxes; that unit was the manor.

The Manor.—Land was of two kinds: there was folk-land and book-land, the former being held, not by the folk in common, but by a tenure known as folk-right; the latter being granted by "book" or "charter" from the king—the ultimate owner of all land. At the time of the Domesday Survey we may say that the manor contained land of two kinds, that of the lord and that of the villeins. The lord's land was known as his demesne and was worked for him by the villeins. The villeins are, in a general sense, unfree tenants, while in a more restricted sense the villein is only one member of this class. In the general sense villeins were not serfs, seeing that they possessed certain rights, which the lord was bound to respect; but they were unfree to the extent that they were bound to perform certain services to the lord. In course of time, however, Roman law tended to define all villeins as serfs—a process which was counteracted

by the increasing use of money payments instead of payments in kind; as the lord found it desirable to receive money, he consented to commute the old villein services for money, and this led in turn to the gradual employment of free labourers.

As the lord exacted service from the villeins, so the king exacted service and taxation from him. Military service in the field with a prescribed number of followers for a prescribed time was only part of his obligations; he had also to give three other feudal aids—to help the king to knight his eldest son, to dower his daughter, and to ransom himself. Military service was commuted by Henry II. for scutage, a payment of two shillings on every knight's fee. On the other hand, the lord, like the king, derived revenues from his own tenants, in the shape of wardships, heriots, and reliefs. Wardships gave him the administration of an estate when the heir was a minor; heriots entitled him to take the best beast from the estate of a dead tenant, and reliefs were dues paid by an incoming heir as a sort of death duty.

The Decay of Villeinage.—The first real revolution in England, so far as the life of the people at large is concerned, was occasioned by the Black Death, for the immediate rise in prices, consequent upon the scarcity, was followed naturally by a rise in wages. The poorer classes were not much better off after all, but those landowners who had agreed to a money commutation for the old services were certainly worse off. As landowners always have done, they did their best to safeguard their own interests; but the Statute of Labourers proved ineffective in the long run, and they had to fall back upon other measures. First of

all they began to rent land to tenants, who, although they often, indeed usually, received stock and seed from the landowner, were in a sense the ancestors of the modern farmer. But as the great problem was to reduce the number, and consequently the wages, of labourers to a minimum, they took advantage of the demand for woollen manufactured goods to go in for sheep-farming. Sheep cannot be kept in open fields, and so we have the first cases of enclosures. As some of the lord's land would be in among the strips of his tenants, we can easily see some of the results that would ensue. On the one hand, men were literally driven off the land, sometimes to flock into the towns, sometimes to eke out a livelihood by domestic industries like weaving; and on the other, the old system of villeinage rapidly fell into decay.

Towns.—In times of violence protection is not to be found in the open country, and so, especially after the Danish invasions, we find a considerable number of towns in England. They had two origins—either in the *burh* or strongly fortified place, or in the *tun*, the enclosure round a house or estate. That the people so congregated together for protection or trade sometimes called it their *ham*, or home, we see from such names as Nottingham. If such a settlement was founded by the Danes, we can guess as much by the termination of such places as Whitby and Grimsby, for their *by* is the English *tun;* if the new town was especially a market, like Warwick, or built upon a creek or bay, like Berwick, Ipswich, or Norwich, we shall know it from the form of the name; in other cases the town may have grown round a large monastery, as we see at Abingdon and Bury St. Edmunds.

But in whatever way they arose we find by the time of Edward the Confessor that every county has at any rate one chief town, which belongs to several lords, who use it partly for their own town houses, and partly for their burghers or fighting men in time of peace. Just as the country dwellers had their shire moot, so the town dwellers had their borough moot; and to correspond to the sheriff there was the reeve to collect taxes and dues in return for the privileges granted to the burgesses; the reeve, too, held local courts to administer justice, and became really the town's representative in all affairs with the king. But privileges were not granted by the king alone. After the Conquest the Norman lords granted charters to the towns, and these charters were usually modelled on some Norman pattern; thus Shrewsbury and Hereford were in a sense daughter-towns of Breteuil. When the charters were granted by the king, a privilege handsomely paid for, of course, London was usually the model chosen, and this was the case with Oxford, Winchester, and Bristol. The charter usually gave a form of self-government, and from the thirteenth century the *commune* was vested in the burgesses, the mayor, and aldermen. Common councils are a later invention. By burgesses we must not understand all the inhabitants of a town; the burgesses were originally holders of land or of a house within the town, and holders of a strip of agricultural land immediately outside the town; they alone paid the dues to the king, and they therefore kept the government of the town to themselves. Of course in many cases the town formed part of a manor, and then the lord of the manor had his bailiff to collect the manor dues and to

preside in his court; Manchester did not free itself entirely from the lord of the manor till 1845.

The Gilds.—Even before the Norman Conquest the inhabitants of towns had begun to associate themselves into clubs or *gilds* for special objects and in special interests. These objects may be grouped into three classes, and gave rise to the social or religious gild, the craft gild, and the gild merchant. The social or religious gild was often little more than a sick benefit club with a religious bias; it flourished between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was suppressed in 1547–48, when its property was confiscated by the Crown. A rather exceptional outcome of the union of two of them was the foundation of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The craft gilds were composed of men following the same trade for the protection and regulation of that trade. The standard of workmanship, the number and training of apprentices, the conditions of work were all subject to the supervision of the gild through its officers. They arose about the beginning of the twelfth century, and had become so important by the fourteenth that their government was usually in the hands of the town authorities, the mayor and aldermen; not altogether a strange development when we remember that the prices charged by bakers and brewers, at any rate, were fixed by the "assize" of bread and ale declared by the mayor. In the fifteenth century York had as many as sixty craft gilds, and in numerous other towns there were nearly as many. In London there are still eighty.

Even more closely connected with the government of the towns were the gilds merchant; indeed, from

the thirteenth century they may be said to merge with that government, as, for instance, at Winchester and Worcester. As the name implies, they were associations of burgesses who obtained privileges from the king for their commerce. While their constitution was much the same as that of the other gilds, their object was rather to monopolise trade within the town to themselves, as opposed to the general body of the inhabitants, and to escape dues and customs when trading outside the town. As they contrived to control the whole trade of the town, their importance and influence were naturally considerable; indeed, it would seem that they came in course of time to supply town councils to the mayor and aldermen, and it is certain that the *Guild* hall often became the *Town* hall. Like the craft gilds, they stood for honesty in trade; as the former insisted on good workmanship, so *they* insisted on proper weights and proper processes.

Fairs and Markets.—But local trade was not entirely in the hands of the gilds; outside traders were admitted at certain times on certain conditions. The owner of a market reaped a rich harvest in return for its general convenience. At the time of Domesday there were some fifty markets in England, and although at first a good deal of fraud was practised in them, by the end of the thirteenth century a sound market law had been established, and minute regulations as to quality and weight secured customers against exaction.

In order to give merchants from a distance or from abroad an opportunity to sell their goods, every year or two years a great fair would be held—possibly at first on the occasion of a general holiday, or at some

special place of pilgrimage. Happy the landowner on whose land a fair was held, for it brought him great profits; often some great cathedral or monastery had obtained the privilege from the king. As long as the fair lasted markets and shops were closed, and even a special court (pie-powder) was set up to deal with disputes. Although survivals have lingered on even to our own time, the flourishing period for fairs was in the thirteenth century, when some two thousand were granted by the Crown.

Foreign Trade.—Even as early as the end of the seventh century there was some commercial intercourse between England and the Continent. At the end of the eighth we find Offa and Charlemagne corresponding about the protection of each other's merchants in their respective countries. The coming of the Danes opened up new fields for trade with Iceland and the north. But it was the Norman Conquest which gave the first great impulse to foreign trade; Flemish weavers were brought over by Henry I., and builders and masons came in large numbers from Normandy. Foreign merchants were usually protected by special charters, and formed what were practically foreign settlements on English ground; often their status was decided by agreements between their native towns on the Continent and the towns in which they settled in England. They were, in fact, members of trading companies not unlike the East India Company of later times.

But of course there were many foreign merchants who traded with England on their own account: wool was bought by Italians, wine was sold by French and Gascons, Jews, until their expulsion from England

in Edward I.'s reign, lent money to approved creditors at handsome rates of interest. All of them had to contend with most vexatious conditions, imposed by the jealous natives. For instance, even in the time of Edward III. foreign merchants in London had to live in the house of a citizen, and were only allowed to trade wholesale; even so they could only deal with freemen of the city, and only for a prescribed period. London is but an instance of the attitude of all towns, and a "foreigner" was not necessarily an alien, but merely a non-citizen of the particular town concerned. A large part of the political history of the Middle Ages hinges upon the pressure brought to bear from time to time upon the Crown by the increasingly prosperous trading classes to discourage foreign trade. Ambitious monarchs like Edward III., eager to pursue a spirited foreign policy, were too dependent upon the help of foreign merchants, capitalists, and bankers to pay much heed to their jealous subjects; Henry IV. secured the throne largely by their assistance; but when the Yorkists relied upon the towns for success against their rivals, the towns were able to insist upon their reward in a protective policy which taxed foreign competition.

The Hanseatic League.—The most important of all the trading corporations of the Middle Ages was the Hanseatic League. Founded in 1266, and originally confined to Hamburg and Lübeck, it soon spread over the whole of Northern Europe, and became a political power of the first importance. At one time it had as many as eighty towns in its confederation, and by its control of markets was able to ruin the industry of any country or town. In England it had depots at Lynn,

Boston, York, Hull, Bristol, Norwich, Ipswich, Yarmouth, and London—each with its own privileges and special houses. Many attempts were made to break down its power by English merchants, but so long as its great fleet ruled the northern seas, and could thus exclude our goods from northern markets, these attempts met with no success. On the contrary, the League was able to demand a great reduction in the customs dues for goods which its members exported from England; for instance, the "customs" paid on exported dyed cloth by English merchants was 2*s.* 4*d.*, by ordinary aliens 5*s.* 6*d.*, but by members of the League only 2*s.*; even at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign the League was exporting 22 per cent. of our cloth. Its members were eventually expelled from England in 1597 by Elizabeth.

The Staple.—In order to collect more easily the royal customs on the staple produce of the country—wool, hides, and tin—the Crown decided, probably at the beginning of the fourteenth century, to fix upon one certain town to which these staple articles, or at any rate wool, should be conveyed. At first the Staple was fixed in Flanders, but in 1353 Edward III. removed it to England, partly no doubt in order to attract foreign merchants to this country. Some ten towns were named as Staple towns. But this arrangement did not last long, owing to the consequent decay of English shipping; Calais was fixed eventually as the new Staple. As only certain English ports were allowed to ship wool, and as the shipper had to give a security that the cargo should be landed in Calais, the king's officer at the latter port was able to advise the exchequer of the actual amount exported.

Architecture : Churches.—Of all the great arts none reflects more clearly than architecture the actual conditions of society ; in the Middle Ages, at least, it tells us how people worshipped, how they fought, and how they lived.

Very few examples of Anglo-Saxon architecture have survived to our time, from which we may gather that their buildings were largely of wood, as is certainly the case with Greenstead Church in Essex. From them —and Bradford-on-Avon is the best illustration— we form the conclusion that the churches of the time were small and rectangular, without aisles ; and that the small windows, with their rounded or triangular tops, were deeply splayed even on the outside, possibly to protect the oiled parchment, which more often than not did duty for glass, from the weather. We must not suppose, however, that glass was unknown in Anglo-Saxon times, for Bede distinctly tells us that the windows of Benedict Biscop's church at Wearmouth were glazed at the end of the seventh century ; we know, too, that Dunstan was interested in glass-work as well as in metal-work and musical instruments.

When the Normans came to England they set about rebuilding all the larger churches. Under the Conqueror and his sons nearly two hundred religious houses were raised. Those who live near Peterborough or Romsey can see splendid examples of their work, with its characteristic features of rounded windows and of wide round arches on massive round pillars or piers. These churches were built at a time when they might well have to be used as fortresses or places of refuge, and so the solid masonry had a real purpose. Those who have visited Canterbury or Christ Church, Oxford,

or the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury can see how in Henry II.'s reign the round arches tended to become pointed, and thus prepared the way for a new style known as the *Early English*, which was in fashion, roughly speaking, from the accession of Richard I. to the accession of Edward I. The cathedrals of Salisbury and Lincoln, the choir at Worcester and the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster, show us its special characteristics : the lancet-shaped windows and arches ; the tall, slender spires ; the buttresses standing out from the walls ; the clusters of marble columns in place of the massive Norman pillars ; the bell capitals and the dog-tooth ornament.

As architecture developed the *Decorated* style was gradually established by builders like those of Exeter, Wells, and Southwell (1272–1377). Simplicity gave way to magnificent ornamentation. The arch now was built upon an equilateral triangle, and great care was bestowed upon the tracery and the design of the windows. The vaulting of the roofs was elaborated ; spires became ever larger and more beautiful. The characteristic ornament is the ball flower or the cup and flower. In fact, in this period workmanship reached the highest point of perfection, and the following two centuries (1377–1550) are marked by a gradual decline. In the *Perpendicular* style we find that arches and roofs become flatter as windows become broader, and that the windows themselves are split up by the mullions needed by their increasing width. At last the windows too are flattened till they become square. Magnificent examples of this style, which gives some splendid fan-roofs, may be seen in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster,

at King's College, Cambridge, and in Wykeham's nave at Winchester. On the whole, its combination of dignity and comfort made it especially suitable for colleges and monasteries; one of its finest monuments is the tower of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Houses.—The principles which decided the form of churches would at first decide the form of houses, and that is why some old houses look not unlike churches. But in early times houses were built rather for defence against enemies than merely for the comfort of their inmates. Even still on the borders may be seen round pele towers, with one room only on each of their three or more stories. The three rooms which sufficed for the needs of our ancestors were the hall, or common living-room, the kitchen for the use of the servants, and the solar or parlour for the private use of the family. Of these three rooms, the hall was always in the middle, even in the early Norman days, when the rooms were on different stories. When all the rooms were on the same level, the hall usually had a fire in the centre and a lantern in the roof for the smoke to escape, an arrangement which survived in some cases even into Elizabeth's time. An excellent idea may be formed of this internal arrangement by visiting any of the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, where the hall is still between the kitchens, or at any rate the screens, and the parlour or withdrawing-room; while the high table in the hall itself still shows the original purpose of the room. Before the fourteenth century wood and plaster would be the commoner materials for building houses, stone being reserved for castles; but brick was not unknown even then. Even in districts remote from the borders the

need for defence is illustrated by the external character of the house ; a moat is a common precaution in level country, and when the three rooms were no longer found sufficient for the more prosperous and settled times of the fourteenth century, the buildings are grouped round an open court—just as we may still see in many colleges. In very large houses there might be two courts, as at Haddon Hall. Not the least imposing part of the buildings was the kitchen ; Glastonbury and Trinity College, Cambridge, illustrate their size and help us to realise the hospitality they served.

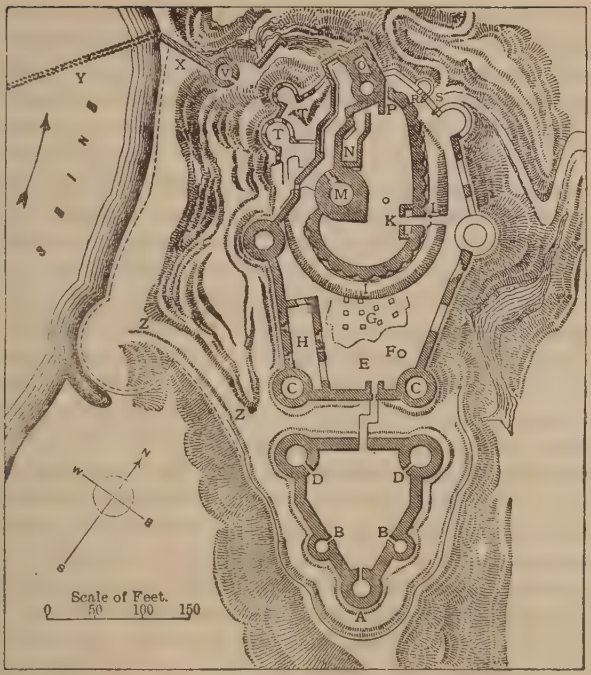
Even in the fifteenth century the purpose of defence is not lost sight of ; great, comfortable brick houses, like Hurstmonceux, in Sussex, still have their moat. But it is in the next century that domestic architecture really developed on lines suitable to itself, although still based upon the old arrangement. Hampton Court and Burghley House are magnificent palaces which illustrate the wealth and the taste of their owners—a taste which is now influenced by the Italian Renaissance, with its tendency to fall back upon the old models of Rome and Greece. Comfort and art are now the dominant notes ; bay-windows, great fireplaces, and broad staircases are set off by fine paintings and finer tapestries.

Castles and the Art of War.—We have already seen that houses were at first essentially fortresses ; we have now to glance at the military conditions which determined, from time to time, the appropriate methods of defence and attack.

The Old English fought on foot, as a rule with no other defence than a wooden shield, although helmets and byrnies, or mail-shirts, were not unknown. They

fought too at close range, so that they preferred the spear and the dagger to the bow or the javelin ; axes and swords were uncommon. It was the Danes who brought the axe into common use as a weapon of offence. As they lived in open townships and villages, they had no liking for the cramped life of castles, and fortifications were only forced upon them by the Danish invasions. Alfred not only gave his countrymen a navy, but built them rude strong *burhs*, to resist the enemy. These *burhs* were earth-mounds surmounted by a stockade and a ditch, the whole no doubt being enclosed by a further earthen outwork. In his time, too, iron helms and byrnies became more common, and were, indeed, compulsory for the thegns or chiefs. When at the same time the *fyrd*, or national militia, was organised, so that one half went to war while the other half tilled the fields at home, it became necessary for every man to range himself under a "lord" ; a "lordless" man became impossible.

The Normans relied upon their feudal cavalry as the chief arm of their fighting force, and used their infantry as archers and slingers to prepare the way for a cavalry charge. They repaired the old English *burhs* and strengthened them by building wooden and, later, stone castles. Indeed, the Norman castle was at first merely a development of the *burh*, the palisade being replaced by a stone wall ; such a "shell-keep" was the origin of Berkeley and Arundel, and the "keep" itself may still be examined in the White (round) Tower at London and the square castle at Norwich. In course of time further outer walls were added, with towers in them as an additional defence ; for the castle was planned entirely for defence, and in



GROUND PLAN OF CHÂTEAU GAILLARD

A. High Angle Tower.
B B. Smaller Side Towers.
C C, D D. Corner Towers.
E. Outer Enceinte, or Lower Court.
F. The Well.
G, H. Buildings in the Lower Court.
I. The Moat.
K. Entrance Gate.
L. The Counterscarp.
M. The Keep.
N. The Escarpment.
O. Postern Tower.
P. Postern Gate.
R R. Parapet Walls.
S. Gate from the Escarpment.
T T. Flanking Towers.
V. Outer Tower.
X. Connecting Wall.
Y. The Stockade in the River.
Z Z. The Great Ditches.

the days of its perfection could be reduced only by famine. Château Gaillard, built by Richard I. after his return from the Crusades, is a splendid example; it has two outer wards, studded with circular towers, and one inner ward; into this inner ward is built the keep. This defensive characteristic of the Norman castle explains why in the eleventh and twelfth centuries we read of so many more sieges than open battles. In these islands the most perfect types of castles can be studied at Beaumaris, Carnarvon, and Caerphilly.

The fame of English arms in the Middle Ages arose from the longbow-men. Before the reign of Edward I. the archer had usually been armed with the crossbow, but from the time of that king's Welsh campaigns the longbow comes into prominence. Its home was in South Wales, and it was largely by Welsh archers that the battle of Falkirk was won in 1298. Edward's grandson turned it to splendid account in Scotland at Halidon Hill, and in France at Crécy. To meet its attack the armourers introduced plate armour in the place of chain-mail, with the result that cavalry had no longer the ease of movement in which their chief value lay.

Gunpowder revolutionised the art of war by proving too strong both for castles and armour; firearms too eventually superseded the longbow. Flodden was the last archers' battle.

Monasteries.—War and violence were such everyday incidents of early mediæval society that to escape from them quiet people had to retire from the world altogether. But the early idea of monasticism—living by oneself—soon gave way in Western Europe to the conviction that the highest spiritual good was to be gained by a "common" life among other spiritually

minded men. The form of monasticism which found most favour in England was the rule of St. Benedict, a saint who lived in the early part of the sixth century. But long before the twelfth century, the golden age of monasticism, Benedict's rule had been greatly reformed by his namesake, Benedict of Aniane (750–821), and again by Berno in the tenth century. Berno founded a famous monastery at Cluny, and in course of time the Abbot of Cluny became one of the most influential men in Europe. It was the Norman Conquest which introduced the new enthusiastic ideas of Cluny into England; such monasteries as the Normans found here were mostly inhabited by secular canons, who, although living under a definite rule, much resembled the modern canons of a cathedral. However, the Cluniacs never had many houses in England; they were regarded as foreigners, because they depended exclusively upon the mother monastery at Cluny. The orders which throve best in this country were the Benedictine (not of Cluny) and the Cistercians, in their origin an austere set of Benedictine reformers. To the former belonged Westminster, Glastonbury, and St. Albans; to the latter Fountains, Kirstall, and Tintern.

The vows undertaken by a monk were poverty, chastity, and obedience. For long the monasteries were above reproach for the pious lives of their inmates; but when their sanctity brought them the favour of the great, or, as with the Cistercians, their sheep or mines brought them wealth, they fell away from their high ideals, and became worldly corporations whose success invited the envy of the grasping. But right down to the time of the Dissolution under

Henry VIII. they were known as the best landlords in the kingdom, and their suppression brought widespread distress. As patrons of art, particularly in the forms of building, handwriting, illumination, and music they were the best agents of civilisation in the Middle Ages.

Akin to the monastic orders were the mendicant friars, who first came as missionaries to this country at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Their profession of poverty was adhered to; they begged their bread, and laboured entirely among the poorest of the town poor. The two most famous orders were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

Education. — In early times the only possible educators were the clergy, and it was on the clergy that Alfred chiefly relied in his efforts to teach his people. By the beginning of the thirteenth century grammar schools were to be found in most towns in England. By that time, too, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had arisen, in bodies of students who attended a *Studium Generale*, and lived in hostels under masters of their own election. Many schools owed their foundation to the revival of learning in the twelfth century, and the movement both for schools and colleges was continued throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, sometimes in connection with cathedrals, hospitals, and gilds, and sometimes in connection with private endowments. William of Wykeham, by his foundation of New College at Oxford and his re-endowment of Winchester College, brought the schools into a closer connection with the universities, and secured a more learned ministry for the Church. The curriculum of the schools was founded on a

knowledge of Latin grammar, and the universities were wholly concerned with the study of philosophy. It was not till the end of the fifteenth century that the influence of the new learning was felt at the universities in the revival of the study of Greek and Latin literature; the same movement, in a less thorough form, is seen in the new statutes given to St. Paul's School by Dean Colet. At the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. there were some two hundred grammar schools in England, and though many were destroyed under that king and his father, owing to their connection with hospitals and chantries, others arose in Elizabeth's reign, and, on the whole, the Reformation may be said to have been beneficial to scholastic endowment.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR (1485–1603)

HENRY VII

1492. Columbus's First Voyage to America. 1494 Poynings' Law. 1495. Intercursus Magnus.

The New Monarchy.—The Wars of the Roses had thoroughly exhausted England. All classes were eager for peace and were ready to leave the details of government to the king, if only he were strong enough to preserve order. In other words, the people of England were prepared to support the king against the barons as the most likely disturbers of the peace. But the wars and the executioner between them had weakened the barons to such an extent that the king's task was not really so difficult as it seemed; by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., he united the rival claims of Lancaster and York, and by amassing a hoard of money from the nobility he weakened them at the same time as he gained popularity by sparing the mass of the population. That he claimed the throne in his own right by descent from John of Gaunt and not in his wife's right was a point in which his subjects were hardly interested at all. But so long as representatives of an older line, such as Edward, Earl of Warwick, were alive, Henry VII. felt his throne insecure and took every care to get them into his power.

In spite of all his precautions his claim to the

throne was not long unchallenged. A rebellion broke out in Ireland, where Richard, Duke of York, and George, Duke of Clarence, had both been governors, nominally under the leadership of an impostor named Lambert Simnel, pretending to be Edward, Earl of Warwick, but really under the direction of Margaret of Burgundy and her nephew, the Earl of Lincoln. Although Henry produced the real Earl of Warwick, at that time his prisoner in the Tower, the Yorkists crossed over to England and met the king's army at Stoke, near Newark. Henry gained an easy victory, and the Earl of Lincoln fell in the battle. Simnel was contemptuously spared.

Four years later a more dangerous claimant appeared, again in Ireland, giving himself out as Richard, Duke of York, the brother of Edward V. He too was supported by Margaret of Burgundy, and Henry decided to teach Burgundy a lesson. He forbade all trade with Flanders, the market for English wool. After an enthusiastic reception in Ireland, the impostor, whose real name was Perkin Warbeck, a native of Tournay, crossed to Scotland and was warmly welcomed by James IV., who gave him his cousin in marriage and invaded England in his behalf. The taxation raised by Henry to repel this invasion provoked a rising in Cornwall, and Warbeck, leaving Scotland, hastened to Ireland again in order to turn the Cornish rising in his own favour. But after failing to take Exeter he lost heart, and surrendered soon afterwards.

Henry now naturally turned his attention to Ireland, and caused his governor there, Sir Edward Poynings, to pass a law that all English statutes passed

up to that time should apply equally to Ireland (1494).

The Crown and the Nobles.—Henry's rule is chiefly interesting from his attitude to his barons at home, and from his relations with foreign Powers. He had seen the dangers arising from the unrestricted power of the nobility, and this he checked by the Statute of Liveries, which limited the number of retainers a baron might have. To ensure the effective working of the statute and to control the sheriffs, he instituted the Court of Star Chamber—in its origin a very beneficial and popular court. He had other ways too of coercing his barons, especially by demanding benevolences or forced loans. In these measures he was supported by his ministers Archbishop Morton and Bishop Fox, and was cunning enough to let two subordinate agents, Robert Dudley and Richard Empson, incur all the unpopularity of his extortions.

Foreign Affairs.—His foreign policy was chiefly directed to secure peace with profit. He hoped to gain the good-will of Scotland by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV., and to secure the powerful support of Spain by marrying his son Arthur to the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Castile. With France he had made a pretence of war in consequence of the succession to the Duchy of Brittany, whose heiress, Anne, eventually married the French king; but in 1492 he concluded the Treaty of Etaples, which gained him a large sum of money and a handsome pension as well as the dismissal of Perkin Warbeck from the French court. The stoppage of trade with Flanders did not last long; in 1496 the *Intercursus Magnus* restored and increased the old freedom of commerce.

Henry died in 1509, having laid the foundation of a secure and prosperous future by encouraging trade, as in his shipbuilding and the encouragement he gave the Cabots and by maintaining peace with foreign Powers.

HENRY VIII

1529. Reformation Parliament.	1536–9. Suppression of the Monasteries.
1534. Act of Supremacy.	1539. Act of the Six Articles.
1536. Pilgrimage of Grace.	1542. Solway Moss.

Wolsey and the Young King.—Much depended on the character of the young king. If, in addition to the handsome presence and manly accomplishments which ensured his boundless popularity with his subjects, he should possess the shrewdness and ability of his father, the country might look forward to contentment and prosperity. That he was not merely a spendthrift was soon shown by his attitude to his father's ministers. Warham and Fox were retained, but Empson and Dudley were sacrificed and executed. But the real adviser, or at any rate the most influential servant, of young Henry was Thomas Wolsey, who, appointed Almoner in 1509, became by 1515 Archbishop of York, Cardinal, and Chancellor. Wolsey's influence was based upon an understanding of the king's ability and his headstrong temper. His task was to achieve sound ends by humouring the king's fancies and by working on his ambition. As chief minister he had to guide his master in home affairs, Church affairs, and foreign affairs. At home an extravagant court had succeeded a penurious one, and had to be supported if possible without either resorting to financial tyranny over the

nobles, the favourite expedient of the late reign, or imposing unpopular taxes upon the people. In Church government many abuses had to be reformed; societies which had outlived their earlier uses had to be remodelled and made to contribute their share to the growing national needs.

England and the Balance of Power.—But at the beginning of his reign Henry's ambition turned to foreign affairs; he wished to make his power and influence felt upon the Continent and to restore English prestige. Wolsey's chief care was to secure his master the opening he desired.

The state of Europe could not have been more opportune. In 1511 there was a rearrangement of Continental politics. The Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain had suddenly united with Venice in a Holy League to drive the French from Italy, although shortly before Venice had had to face single-handed the League of Cambrai formed by France, Spain, and the Empire. Here lay Wolsey's opportunity. By joining the Holy League Henry could make his first appearance in European affairs as the successor of the old English policy against France, careless of the old corollary that France would be sure to fall back on the old alliance with Scotland. This policy seemed the more natural because Henry had recently married Catharine of Aragon, Ferdinand's daughter, who had been betrothed to his elder brother Arthur. But his first experience of war was unfortunate. In spite of all Wolsey's efforts the commissariat broke down; the troops meant for Guienne were diverted by Henry's calculating father-in-law for his own purposes in Navarre, and returned to England mutinous and

disgraced. But in the following year (1513), by invading Northern France by way of Calais, and by hiring troops and subsidising the Emperor Maximilian, Henry so far succeeded as to defeat the French at the Battle of Spurs and to subdue two not very important towns. Almost at the same time the Scottish king, James IV., had crossed the Border, had been met by the Earl of Surrey, and been decisively defeated at the Battle of Flodden. But in spite of the victory over the Scots Henry saw that he had merely been the tool of Ferdinand, and was quite willing to avenge himself by concluding a peace and alliance with France.

For the next few years there was that lull in European affairs which precedes the storm. Several of the leading powers lost their old rulers, and the Continent was grouped into two great parties, headed respectively by Charles V., King of Spain, and Francis I., King of France. This very division served to enhance the importance of England ; her weight thrown into either scale would tell. Wolsey found himself holding the balance of Europe. His object must be to preserve peace, as the best possible condition for England's interests, by supporting, if necessary, the weaker of the two antagonists. Several years passed before the rivals broke the peace, and it seemed in 1518 as if Wolsey had succeeded in creating a united Europe. The very next year, however, the Empire fell vacant, and Charles V. was elected to succeed his grandfather Maximilian. Francis I. had been a candidate, and his failure was sure to hasten the inevitable outbreak of hostilities with Spain. Which side should England take ?

There was no doubt of her importance now; both sides courted her—Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and Charles at Gravelines. But her influence was not great enough to prevent the war which broke out in 1521, and then Henry carried her strength, such as it was, to support Spain, his traditional friend, against France, his traditional enemy. It was only when the Battle of Pavia (1525) had placed Francis as a prisoner in Charles's hands that Wolsey had a real chance of restoring the balance of power by an alliance with France. The chief result of this change of policy was an enormous increase in the prestige of England, in spite of the fact that very little was effected in the field or even in the actual positions of the rivals in consequence of it.

Henry and Parliament.—Meanwhile at home there were two subjects that engaged the attention of Henry and his minister—the surviving representatives of the older branches of the royal family, and the expenses of the war. In 1521 the execution of the Duke of Buckingham on a charge of treason reminded Englishmen that the Tudor dynasty was hardly yet secure of its title, and that Henry VIII. was capable of crushing ruthlessly all opposition.

The Parliament of 1523 strenuously resisted an application of £800,000 for war expenses, and only agreed to grant part of this huge sum on the persuasion of the Speaker, Sir Thomas More. When an invasion of France was proposed after the Battle of Pavia, Wolsey decided to have recourse, not to Parliament, but to a commission which should visit every shire and demand a sixth from every man's income. But such a spirited resistance was offered to this in every

part of the country that Henry had to recall the commissioners.

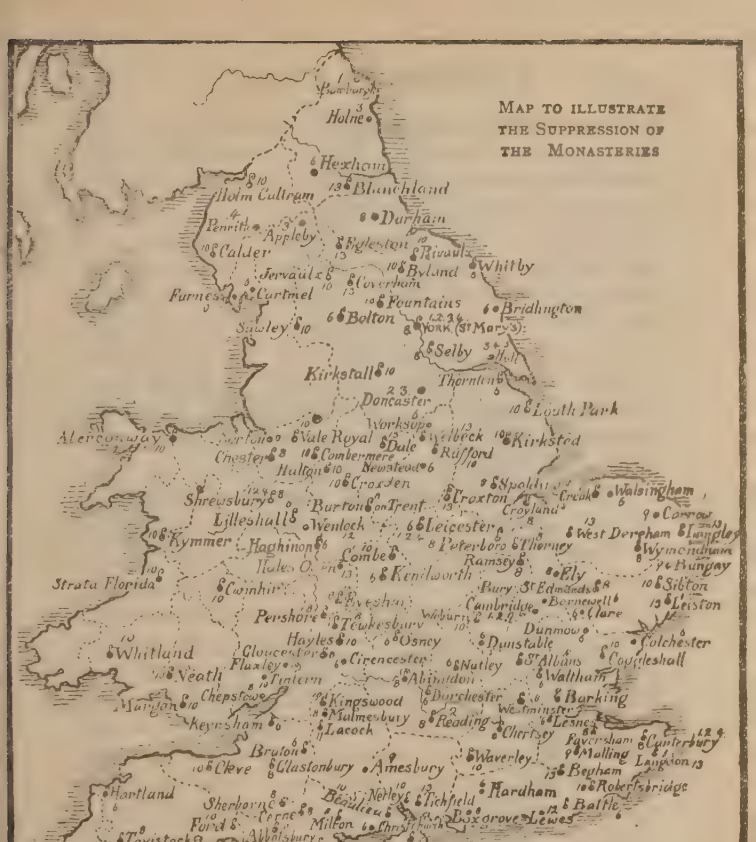
Wolsey and the Reformation.—War and diplomacy were not the only interests of Wolsey. He, too, had been touched by the new ideas of the great Revival; and while Colet and More headed the scholarly side of the movement, his practical mind turned to the details of reform. His position as Papal Legate and Chancellor gave him a unique opportunity for realising his ideas along conservative and practical lines. Thus he was able to make a start upon secular education and Church reform by confiscating the property of some decayed monasteries and founding new colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

Wolsey's Fall.—His schemes were suddenly interrupted by the king's personal desires. The desertion of the Spanish alliance in 1525 had not been unconnected with Henry's private affairs; he had decided to divorce his wife, Catharine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt, and to marry Anne Boleyn, a connection of the house of Howard. The Pope, to whom he appealed on the ground that his conscience forbade him to remain the husband of his brother's betrothed wife, was in a dilemma. He would gladly have granted Henry's wish if only to secure help against the tyranny of Charles in Italy, but on the other hand he did not dare to provoke the latter by divorcing his aunt. Wolsey was in a dilemma too; he hated the idea of a divorce, but had to second his master's wishes; he could only rely on his own ability to turn Henry's fancy from Anne Boleyn to a French princess and thus clench the French alliance. He was therefore not sorry to fall in with the Pope's plan for

causing delay by referring the matter to Campeius and himself as Papal Legates. But delay made Henry furious, and his fury was visited on Wolsey. The Statute of Præmunire was called in to ruin him, as illegally holding office from the Pope.

Political Severance from Rome.—Wolsey sacrificed, Henry found more convenient advisers to support him in securing his wishes by rejecting the Pope's authority altogether. The clergy, equally liable with Wolsey under the Statute of Præmunire, were coerced into recognising Henry as "Supreme Head of the Church" in England, and by an Act of Appeals he was able to refer his divorce to his own courts. Cranmer, recently made Archbishop of Canterbury, granted the king his divorce, and an Act of Succession secured the throne to Anne's children. The whole affair was legalised by an Act of Supremacy which abolished papal interference in Church government in England, but which also unfortunately cost the lives of those who, like Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, could not reconcile Henry's supremacy in Church matters with their consciences.

The Suppression of the Monasteries.—The movement which had thus arisen from Henry's personal desires was bound to grow. The wealth of the Church was too great and too easy to seize not to attract Henry. Wolsey's own example was followed with very different motives and results. One of his servants, Thomas Cromwell, suggested to Henry that the smaller monasteries should be suppressed on the score of their uselessness and corruption. Commissioners sent to visit them made the report that was expected of them, and Parliament ordered the suppression of all monasteries



SKETCH MAP OF ENGLAND AND WALES, SHOWING PRINCIPAL MONASTIC HOUSES

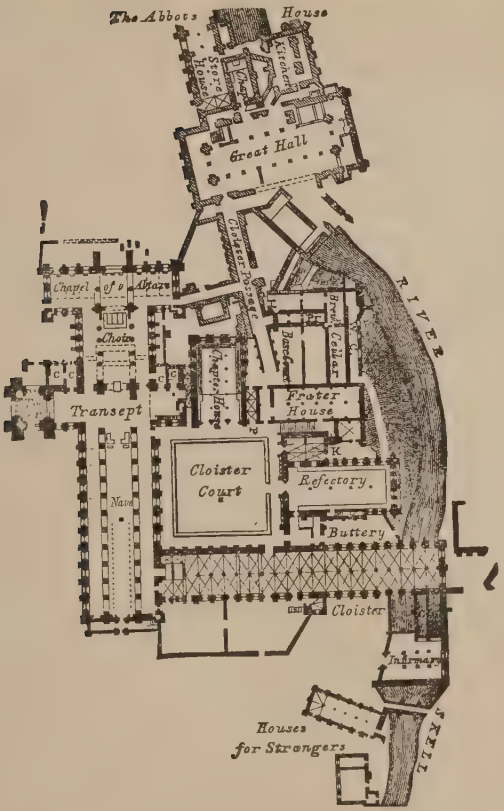
NOTE. The houses here shown represent only a small number of the English Monasteries. The selection has been made with the purpose of showing the more important Abbeys and Priories. There are also included a few houses belonging to the Friars.

1. Dominican Friars.
2. Franciscan Friars.
3. Carmelite Friars.
4. Augustinian Friars.
5. Carthusians.
6. Austin Canons.
7. Austin Friars.
8. Benedictine (Black Monks).
9. Benedictine Nuns.
10. Cistercians (White Monks).
12. Cluniac Monks.
13. Premonstratensian Canons

with an income of less than £200 a year (1536). But the suppression was not popular, especially in the north, where interference with the monasteries was not unnaturally taken as part of a general attack on the old religion; for it was impossible to bestow confiscated church property upon the nobility without making at the same time concessions to those who were anxious for such alterations in Church ceremonies and doctrines as Luther and others had already brought about on the Continent. To satisfy these Reformers Coverdale's translation of the Bible was ordered to be read in churches, and a few modifications of Church usages were also introduced.

A Reaction.—The north rose in defence of the monks and the old ways. Robert Aske headed a Pilgrimage of Grace, and the government hastened to give assurances that the grievances would be redressed; but as soon as the rebels had dispersed it took a savage revenge. The spoliation of the monasteries was too profitable to be discontinued; those possessing more than £200 income were suppressed by even more questionable means than the smaller ones and their possessions served to create a new nobility bound by self-interest to the king's policy (1539). But Henry had little real sympathy with the religious reformers, and in 1539 Parliament passed the Law of the Six Articles, which reaffirmed the more important of the old doctrines and usages.

Cromwell was eager to see Henry allied with the Protestant princes of the Continent, and after the death of the new queen—Jane Seymour—he urged him to marry Anne of Cleves. The king was disappointed with Cromwell's choice, and sacrificed him



FOUNTAINS ABBEY

to the Howard faction, who hated Cromwell as the champion of the religious changes.

Except for an attack from Scotland—James V. was

defeated at Solway Moss (1542)—and a counter-attack upon France—Henry captured Boulogne (1544)—there is little of interest in the remaining years of Henry's reign except the struggle between opposing noble factions. The Howards, attached to the old religion, were opposed by the Seymours, representing the new nobility and the new ideas. Just before Henry's death the Earl of Surrey was executed, his father, the Duke of Norfolk, imprisoned, and the Earl of Hertford, afterwards made Duke of Somerset, Jane Seymour's brother, was nominated as the guardian of his nephew Edward, Henry's heir.

EDWARD VI

1547. Battle of Pinkie. 1552. Act of Uniformity.

Protestant Triumph and Excess.—The Council of Regency had been drawn up to include members of both factions, but Somerset, who was made Lord Protector, soon got the chief power into his own hands. He was an ardent Reformer and very soon introduced great changes, not in Church government, which after all had been Henry's chief interest, but in doctrine and ritual. The Protestants, now their day of triumph had come, committed all manner of excesses, breaking images and otherwise insulting the majority of their countrymen. The Act of the Six Articles was repealed, and violent hands were laid on Church property, the proceeds going to the same class of courtiers as had benefited by the dissolution of the monasteries in the late reign. A Prayer Book, the use of which was enforced by an Act of Uniformity (1549), was drawn up by Cranmer and issued by the government.

Social Conditions.—These religious changes, sufficiently unpopular with the majority of Englishmen, were accompanied by social evils not altogether unconnected with them. The new landowners, selfish and grasping, keener on enclosing common lands than on providing work for the rural population, compared badly with their predecessors, the monks. Devon and Norfolk rose in revolt, and although the Duke of Somerset, who understood the causes of the risings well enough to sympathise with them, more or less succeeded in restoring order, the Council was able to put the blame for misgovernment upon him, and ordered his imprisonment. His successor, the Duke of Northumberland, ambitious and unscrupulous, did all in his power to further the Reformation as the best means to wealth and power. But while he and his friends grew rich the country at large, as Latimer told the king, grew poorer, and some hoped to overthrow the government by the help of Somerset. That hope, however, the government prevented by Somerset's execution. Almost at the same time (1552) the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was published, which, unlike the First, was distinctly Protestant in tone.

The young king had never enjoyed good health and in 1553, knowing that he must soon die, he allowed himself to be persuaded by Northumberland to make a will, nominating his cousin Lady Jane Grey as his successor. Careless of the illegality of such a will Northumberland brought about Jane's marriage with his son Guildford Dudley and flattered himself that he had thus made his own position quite secure.

MARY

1556. CRANMER BURNT. 1558. LOSS OF CALAIS.

Roman Reaction.—But Mary Tudor acted with the energy of her family. While she herself quickly gathered an army in Norfolk, her friends in the Council, as soon as Northumberland had marched against her, proclaimed her in London. So ready was the country to accept her as queen that Northumberland himself proclaimed her at Cambridge, without being able, however, to escape a traitor's death. But Mary's popularity, the result of her own just claim to the throne and of her known opposition to the religious excesses of her brother's reign, did not last long; in her desire to restore the old religion she decided to marry her cousin, Philip II. of Spain, and Englishmen had no wish to see the violent and secret methods of the Inquisition established in England. Sir Thomas Wyatt headed a rising against the marriage which only resulted in his own death and in that of Lady Jane Grey and her husband. Mary, however, half a Spaniard herself, was determined to root out heresy, and during her reign some three hundred persons, including Bishops Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Archbishop Cranmer, were burned at the stake for their religion. At the same time England was reconciled with Rome, and Cardinal Pole, himself of royal descent, was appointed Papal Legate. But the result was other than Mary expected. The sight of brave and holy men dying for their faith did more than the utmost toleration could have done for Protestantism.

Loss of Calais.—The Spanish marriage naturally influenced the queen's foreign policy. In 1557 she joined her husband in a war against France, which on

this occasion was supported by the Pope. The victory of St. Quentin was, however, no equivalent in Englishmen's eyes for the loss of Calais, which England had held for more than two centuries, but had so strangely neglected that the Duke of Guise was able to surprise the garrison and force it to surrender. The loss was a great grief to the queen, who died shortly afterwards (1558).

ELIZABETH

1568. Battle of Langside.	1586. Battle of Zutphen.
1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.	1588. Defeat of the Armada.
1577–1580. Drake's Voyage round the World.	1602. First General Poor Law.

National Settlement of the Reformation.—Her sister Elizabeth, who succeeded with every sign of popular approval, had seen enough of the religious troubles from which England was suffering to know that the one thing needed was national unity ; both sides were by this time too strong to be coerced into either extreme, and she therefore decided to bring about a settlement by way of compromise. She issued a modification of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., and left her subjects to interpret its services as they pleased. All that she and Parliament demanded (by the Act of Uniformity, 1559) was that this Prayer Book should be used in all churches. An Act of Supremacy passed in the same year finally abolished foreign interference in English ecclesiastical affairs and restored jurisdiction in such matters to the Crown.

As far as the majority of Englishmen were concerned

Elizabeth succeeded in establishing a national Church; but, as was to be expected, some preferred to keep to the old religion, and others were anxious for far greater innovations than she allowed. The latter were inclined to follow the teaching of John Calvin, who disapproved of all connection between Church and State and of government by bishops and who claimed absolute freedom for every congregation to govern itself in its own way. In course of time those who held these opinions were called Puritans, a general term which included all sorts of separatists from the Anglican Church, and among others Congregationalists or Independents. Later in her reign Elizabeth did not shrink from persecuting them for refusing to conform to the form of public worship she had set up.

Scotland and Mary Stuart.—But Elizabeth had other matters to engage her attention besides the religious settlement in England. Scotland had accepted the doctrines of Calvin with enthusiasm, and Mary of Guise, regent for the young Mary Stuart, found herself opposed by the Scottish nobility, who, styling themselves Lords of the Congregation, had imitated, and even surpassed, the English courtiers of Edward VI. in confiscating Church property for their own profit. Mary of Guise sent for French troops, and the Lords of the Congregation invited Elizabeth to help them. To understand Elizabeth's position, who was never particularly anxious to help rebels, we must go back to the reign of Henry VII., who had married his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland. Margaret's son, James V., had married Mary of Guise, and their only child was Mary Queen of Scots. The Roman Church had never recognised the marriage of Henry VIII. and

Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth's mother, so that Mary Queen of Scots regarded herself as rightful Queen of England.

Much subsequent trouble might have been avoided if Henry VIII.'s scheme for a marriage between his son Edward VI. and Mary had been successfully carried out. But an invasion of Scotland and the burning of Edinburgh were hardly the best ways of gaining his end, and the Duke of Somerset, as Lord Protector, in the next reign unfortunately pursued the same policy. His victory over the Scots at Pinkie (1547) only decided them to send their young queen to France, where she afterwards married the Dauphin, who was king for a short time as Francis II. It was at the moment of her marriage with Francis that the trouble broke out between the Lords of the Congregation, urged on by John Knox, lately returned from Geneva, and the government of the regent. Elizabeth dreaded a French occupation of Scotland more than the excesses of Knox and the idea of supporting rebels, and therefore, in spite of the fact that she had just concluded the French war by the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, she ended by sending help to the Lords of the Congregation. Her fleet appeared in the Firth of Forth, and thus prevented the French from landing supplies for their friends who were being besieged in Leith. Mary of Guise died at the same time, and by the Treaty of Leith the French left Scotland and acknowledged Elizabeth as Queen of England.

Mary Queen of Scots.—Mary Queen of Scots, after the death of her husband, returned to Scotland in 1561, and four years later married her cousin Henry, Lord Darnley, also a grandson of Margaret Tudor. But the marriage did not turn out happily; Darnley, jealous of Rizzio, Mary's secretary, had him murdered almost

in the queen's presence, and in the following year he himself was assassinated by the Earl of Bothwell. It is not quite certain whether Mary knew of Bothwell's intentions, but her subjects were ready to believe the worst when three months later she married the assassin. The nobles rose in arms, and, defeating Bothwell and Mary at Carberry, imprisoned the queen in Lochleven Castle. Escaping from Lochleven, she again took the field, but being defeated at Langside, she decided to throw herself on the mercy of the Queen of England. Elizabeth was in a dilemma; Mary in England or, worse still, in France might very well become a centre of plots against herself, but on the other hand it was well to have her in safe keeping. She decided to hold an inquiry into Mary's share in the murder of Darnley, but stopped the commissioners before they came to a conclusion. Mary was placed in honourable captivity at Bolton Castle.

In the very next year (1569) a rebellion broke out in the north, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, to place her on the English throne and to restore the old religion. But the earls showed little military capacity, and the rising was vigorously suppressed. When in 1570 Pope Pius V. issued a bull deposing Elizabeth, the chief result was to embitter most Englishmen against their Roman Catholic countrymen and to increase their loyalty to their queen; and when next year Ridolfi's plot on Mary's behalf was discovered, the Spanish ambassador was dismissed and the Duke of Norfolk, who hoped to marry the Scottish queen, was executed.

Elizabeth's Foreign Policy.—Spain was the stronghold of the old religion in Europe. Spanish intrigue

against Elizabeth was only a part of the general policy of Philip II. to root out heresy. He was ruler of the Netherlands as well as of Spain, and his general, the Duke of Alva, was now engaged in the Low Countries in trying to reduce the Dutch and Flemings of the United Provinces and their leader, William the Silent, Prince of Orange. Elizabeth, threatened by Spanish intervention on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots, secretly sent help to the Netherlands, although in 1575 she declined the rebels' offer of the Dutch throne.

France too had her religious difficulties. War between the Catholics and Huguenots had been raging more or less continuously since 1567. In 1572 there was a lull, and the head of the Huguenots, the King of Navarre, married the French king's sister. The queen-mother, Catharine de' Medici, seized the opportunity to arrange for a wholesale massacre of the Reformers on the morning of St. Bartholomew's Day.

The English people were anxious that Elizabeth should marry and thus give them an heir to the throne, but the queen preferred playing off her suitors against one another to giving England over to a foreign prince. Her great object, not always understood by Burghley, her chief adviser from 1572 till his death in 1598, was to gain time in order that when the inevitable contest with Spain arrived England might be ready to meet it. That contest was hastened by two things, the zeal of the Romanists and the enterprise of the English seamen.

Treatment of Catholics and Puritans.—The Roman Church had itself undergone a reformation, largely

owing to the foundation of the Society of Jesus The special mission of the Jesuits was to win back Protestant countries to the Church of Rome, and they were especially anxious to win back England. In 1580 a Jesuit mission to this country under Parsons and Campion gave the government an excuse for persecuting Catholics. They were fined for not going regularly to church or for attending the forbidden service of the Mass. The truth was that many Catholics had listened to the disloyal teaching of Parsons, and the government could hardly help itself. That Spain was privy to all the plots against the queen was proved when Throgmorton confessed in 1583 that the Spanish ambassador had entered into all the details of his conspiracy. Once more the ambassador was dismissed. On the other hand, Catholics as such were not much worse treated than the Puritans, whom Archbishop Whitgift was trying to keep in the Established Church. But in the case of the Puritans there was no question of disloyalty or foreign intervention such as induced Parliament to sanction the Bond of Association formed to protect Elizabeth or to avenge her death (1584).

Death of Sir Philip Sidney.—The hostility of Spain was now so open that Elizabeth no longer cared to conceal the help she sent to the Spanish Netherlands under her favourite, the Earl of Leicester. The expedition was unsuccessful, and is chiefly memorable for the death of Sir Philip Sidney at the battle of Zutphen (1586.) In the same year Sir Francis Walsingham discovered Babington's conspiracy against the queen's life, and took every care to

obtain evidence of Mary's knowledge of it, with the result that she was brought to trial and executed (1587).

The Sea-dogs.—For years past English seamen had been harassing the Spaniards in the New World, capturing treasure-ships and sacking towns. At first the Spanish authorities had been rather glad to buy African negroes from traders like John Hawkins to work the mines, but soon forbade any intercourse between their possessions and England. Then Drake took to looting their rich depots, like Nombre-de-Dios, and attacking their treasure-ships at sea. In 1577 he began his famous three years' voyage round the world, from which he returned laden with the wealth he had taken from Spanish possessions. Other adventurers, like Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Martin Frobisher, wished to reap wealth and honour by avoiding the Spanish conquests, hoping to find a passage to India, the world's treasure-house, by the north-west. Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Richard Grenville decided to found a colony in North America, but the attempt in Virginia was a failure.

The Defeat of the Armada.—With such experienced seamen England was ready to face the power of Spain when Mary's execution at last compelled Philip to make up his mind to crush her. His first preparations were brought to nothing by Drake, who, as he said, "singed the King of Spain's beard" by setting fire to his store-ships in Cadiz harbour. But by the next year (1588) everything was ready, and the great fleet, or Armada, with the Duke of Medina-Sidonia in command, sailed to invade England, intending to pick

up the Spanish troops in Flanders on the way. Elizabeth's admiral was Lord Howard of Effingham, a Catholic, and under him served Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Raleigh. An army too was collected at Tilbury under the Earl of Leicester. The queen herself came to Tilbury and addressed the troops.

When the Armada appeared off Plymouth the English let it pass up Channel, preferring to keep in its rear with a following wind and cannonade it all the time. It took the Spaniards a week to reach Calais, fighting all the way. To make sure that there should be no junction with the Spanish troops coming overland from Flanders, the English admiral sent fireships into Calais harbour to drive Medina-Sidonia out to sea. The plan succeeded even better than he expected, for when the Spanish ships were once out of the harbour a storm arose which drove them northwards, chased by Drake and Howard so long as they had a shot left. By that time the great fleet was hopelessly beaten, and not more than a third of the hundred and fifty vessels succeeded in escaping by way of Scotland and Ireland back to Spain.

Elizabeth and Parliament.—Although delivered from foreign enemies, Elizabeth had still to face serious troubles at home. The Puritans were far from satisfied with the religious settlement, and in 1593 Penry was executed for his supposed authorship of the Marprelate tracts, directed mainly against the bishops. In the same year acts were passed against both Puritans and Catholics. Also, apart from the chronic religious difficulties, Parliament required skilful management in the matter of monopolies (1597–1601), and the social distress occasioned by the confiscation of

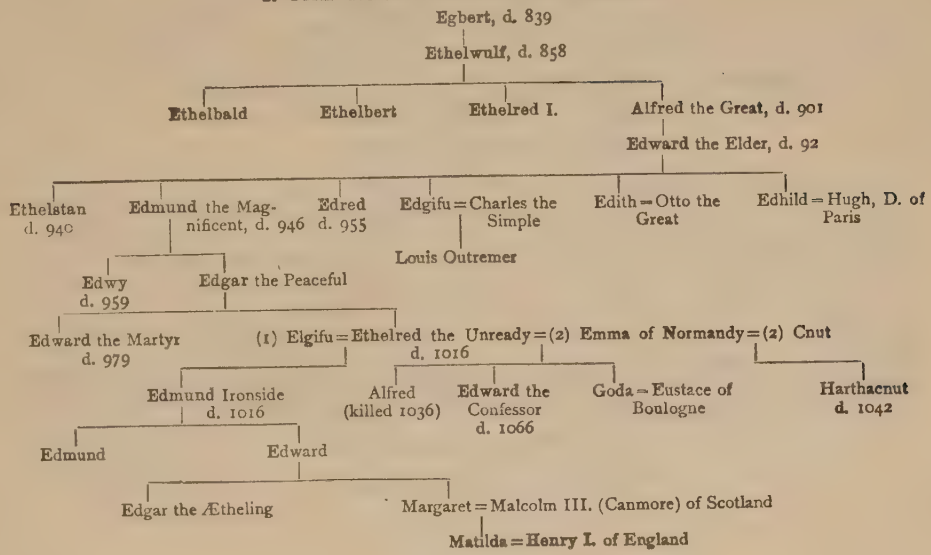
Church lands and the consequent enclosures had to be met by a new Poor Law (1602).

Ireland.—Elizabeth had always had some personal favourite, and in her old age she appeared fondest of the Earl of Essex. In 1596 the earl had destroyed the Spanish fleet in Cadiz, and had become so popular and arrogant that he presumed on the queen's indulgence. But Elizabeth's resentment was soon appeased, and when affairs in Ireland came to a crisis Essex was appointed Lord Deputy. In spite of Poynings' Law, English rule only really held good in the Pale; elsewhere the country was given over to the tender mercies of the nobility, largely the descendants of Anglo-Norman barons, some of whom had intermarried with the natives, while others kept to the feudal customs of their ancestors. For generations the two chief men in Ireland had been the Earl of Kildare, the head of the Geraldines, and the Earl of Tyrone, the head of the O'Neills. An attempt in Mary's reign to introduce English colonies in King's County and Queen's County had stirred up afresh all the old race feuds, and led to the rebellion of Shane O'Neil, suppressed in 1567. Twelve years later the Geraldines, instigated by the Pope, rose against the queen's government, and were put down by Lord Grey only with great difficulty. English landowners were introduced into the confiscated estates, and race hatred was still further accentuated. In 1598 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, Shane's nephew, headed a general Irish revolt, and it was to meet this difficulty that Essex was appointed Lord Deputy. He mismanaged the campaign and was recalled in disgrace; his haughty temper led him to violence,

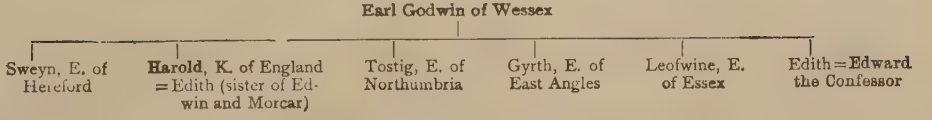
and he was eventually executed for treason, although it is probable that his real object was merely to compel the queen to dismiss her ministers. His failure in Ireland was retrieved by Lord Mountjoy, who crushed Tyrone's rebellion in the last year of Elizabeth's reign (1603).

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

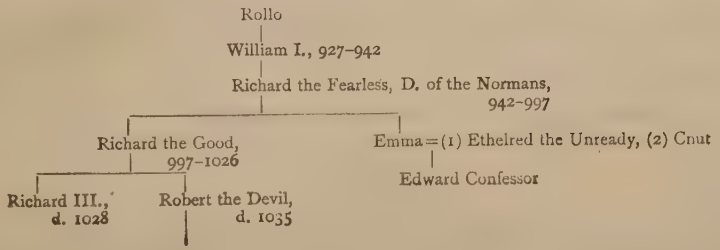
I. THE ROYAL HOUSE OF WESSEX

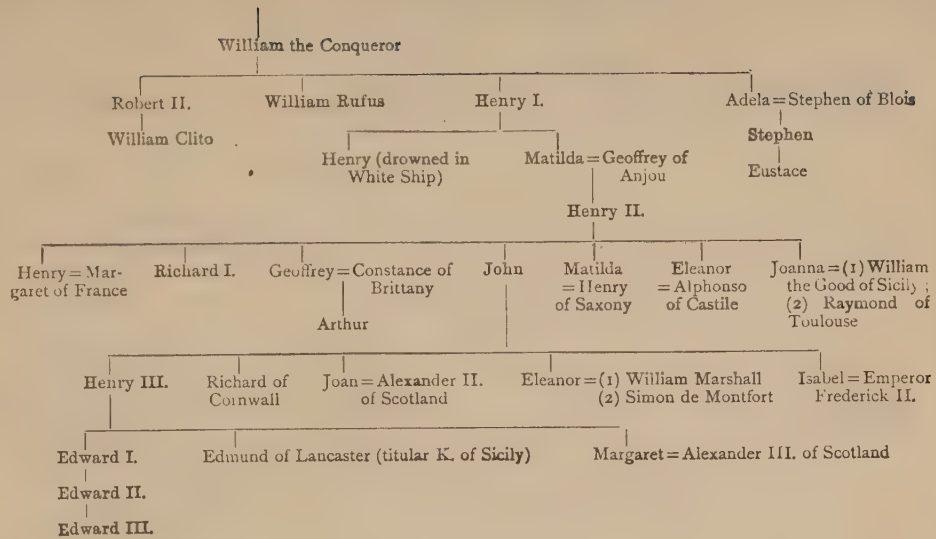


2. THE HOUSE OF GODWIN

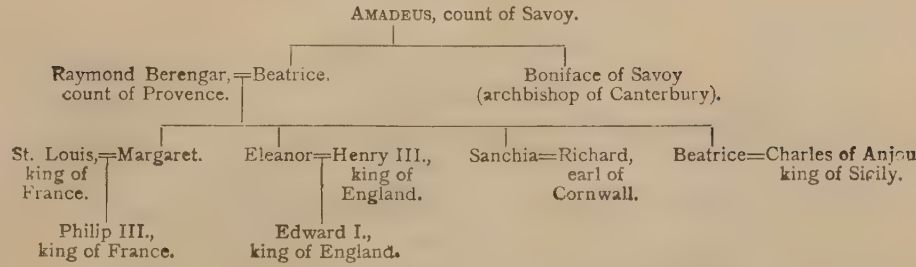

Earl Godwin of Wessex
Sweyn, E. of Hereford
Harold, K. of England = Edith (sister of Edwin and Morcar)
Tostig, E. of Northumbria
Gyrth, E. of East Angles
Leofwine, E. of Essex
Edith = Edward the Confessor

3. THE NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS OF ENGLAND

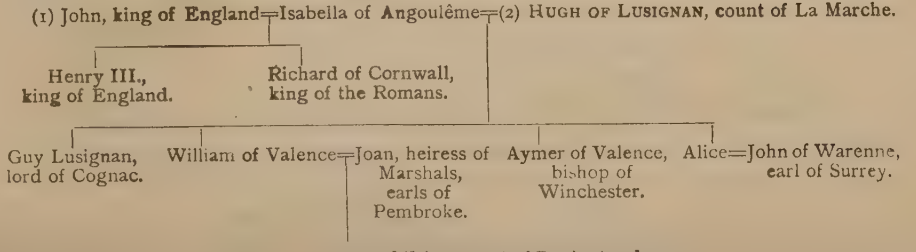

Rollo
William I., 927–942
Richard the Fearless, D. of the Normans, 942–997
Richard the Good, 997–1026
Emma = (1) Ethelred the Unready, (2) Cnut
Edward Confessor
Richard III., d. 1028
Robert the Devil, d. 1035


William the Conqueror
Robert II.
William Rufus
Henry I.
Adela = Stephen of Blois
William Clito
Henry (drowned in White Ship)
Matilda = Geoffrey of Anjou
Stephen
Eustace
Henry II.
Henry = Margaret of France
Richard I.
Geoffrey = Constance of Brittany
Arthur
John
Matilda = Henry of Saxony
Eleanor = Alphonso of Castile
Joanna = (1) William the Good of Sicily; (2) Raymond of Toulouse
Henry III.
Richard of Cornwall
Joan = Alexander II. of Scotland
Eleanor = (1) William Marshall (2) Simon de Montfort
Isabel = Emperor Frederick II.
Edward I.
Edmund of Lancaster (titular K. of Sicily)
Margaret = Alexander III. of Scotland
Edward II.
Edward III.

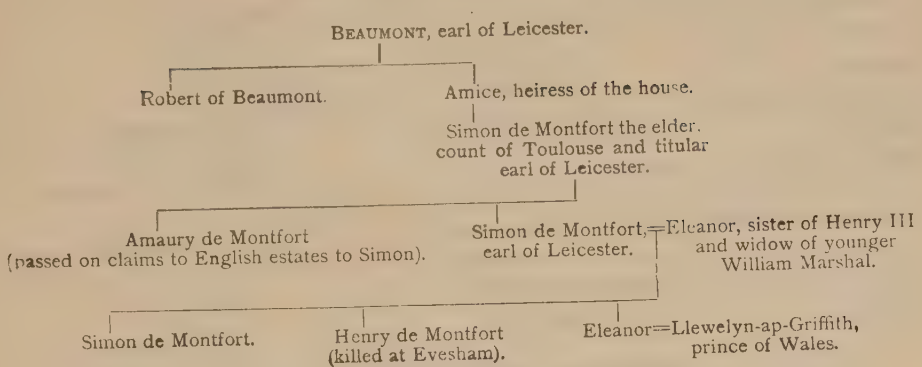
4.—THE PROVENÇALS AND SAVOYARDS.



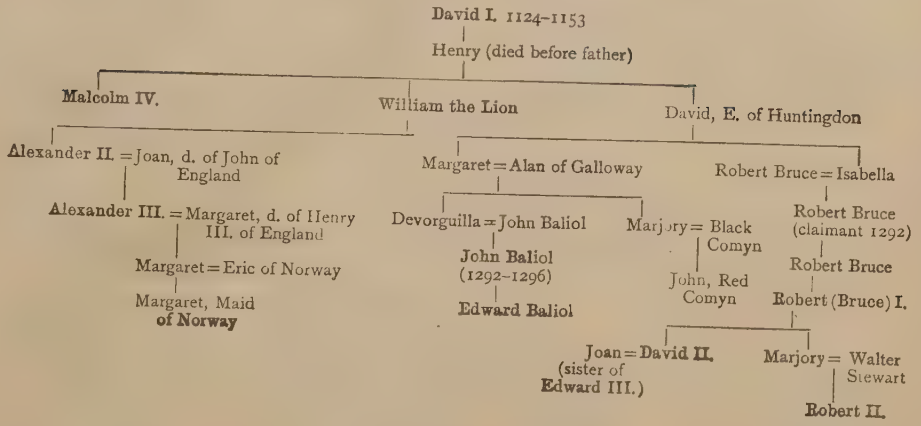
5.—THE LUSIGNANS.


(1) John, king of England
Isabella of Angoulême
(2) HUGH OF LUSIGNAN, count of La Marche.
Henry III., king of England.
Richard of Cornwall, king of the Romans.
Guy Lusignan, lord of Cognac.
William of Valence
Joan, heiress of Marshals, earls of Pembroke.
Aymer of Valence, bishop of Winchester.
Alice
John of Warenne, earl of Surrey.
Aymer of Valence, earl of Pembroke, d. 1324.

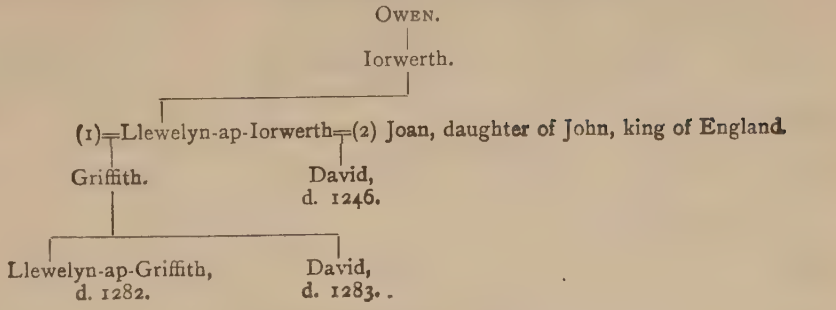
6.—THE DE MONTFORTS.


BEAUMONT, earl of Leicester.
Robert of Beaumont.
Amice, heiress of the house.
Simon de Montfort the elder. count of Toulouse and titular earl of Leicester.
Amaury de Montfort (passed on claims to English estates to Simon).
Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester.
Eleanor, sister of Henry III and widow of younger William Marshal.
Simon de Montfort.
Henry de Montfort (killed at Evesham).
Eleanor
Llewelyn-ap-Griffith, prince of Wales.

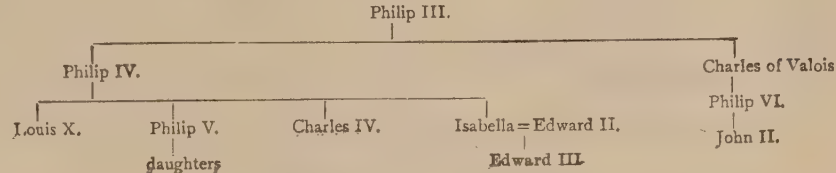
7. THE SCOTTISH SUCCESSION


David I. 1124–1153
Henry (died before father)
Malcolm IV.
William the Lion
David, E. of Huntingdon
Alexander II. = Joan, d. of John of England
Alexander III. = Margaret, d. of Henry III. of England
Margaret = Eric of Norway
Margaret, Maid of Norway
Margaret = Alan of Galloway
Devorguilla = John Baliol
John Baliol (1292–1296)
Edward Baliol
Marjory = Black Comyn
John, Red Comyn
Robert Bruce = Isabella
Robert Bruce (claimant 1292)
Robert Bruce
Robert (Bruce) I.
Joan = David II. (sister of Edward III.)
Marjory = Walter Stewart
Robert II.

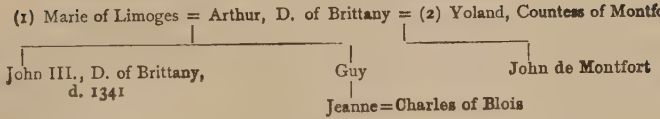
8.—THE PRINCES OF NORTH WALES.



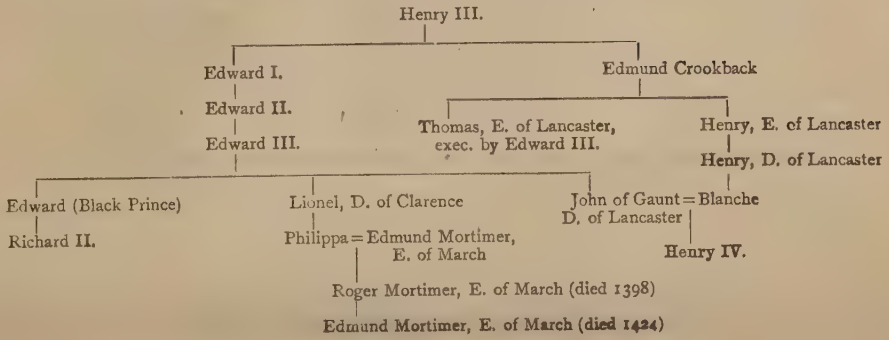
9. EDWARD'S CLAIM TO THE FRENCH THRONE



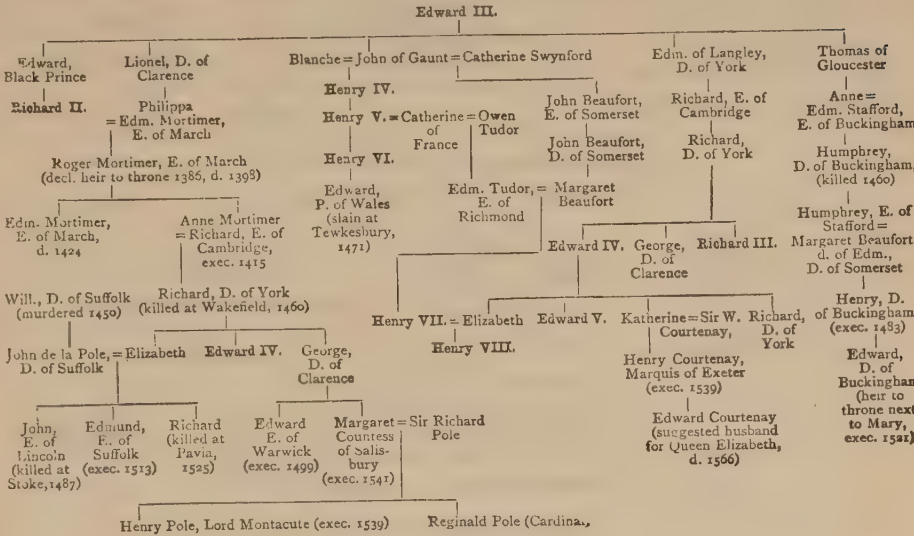
10. THE SUCCESSION IN BRITTANY


(1) Marie of Limoges = Arthur, D. of Brittany = (2) Yoland, Countess of Montfort
John III., D. of Brittany, d. 1341
Guy
John de Montfort
Jeanne = Charles of Blois

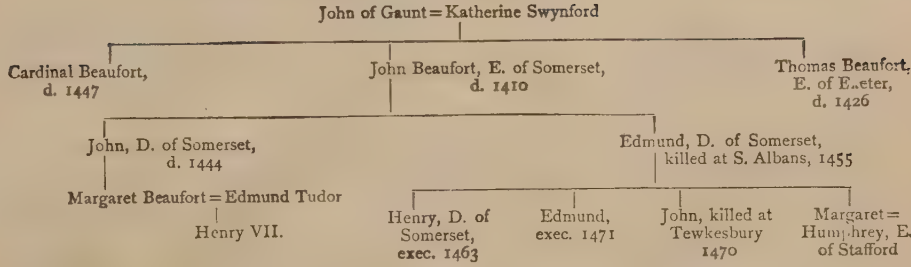
11. HENRY IV.'S CLAIM TO THE THRONE


Henry III.
Edward I.
Edmund Crookback
Edward II.
Thomas, E. of Lancaster, exec. by Edward III.
Henry, E. of Lancaster
Edward III.
Henry, D. of Lancaster
Edward (Black Prince)
Lionel, D. of Clarence
John of Gaunt = Blanche D. of Lancaster
Richard II.
Philippa = Edmund Mortimer, E. of March
Henry IV.
Roger Mortimer, E. of March (died 1398)
Edmund Mortimer, E. of March (died 1424)

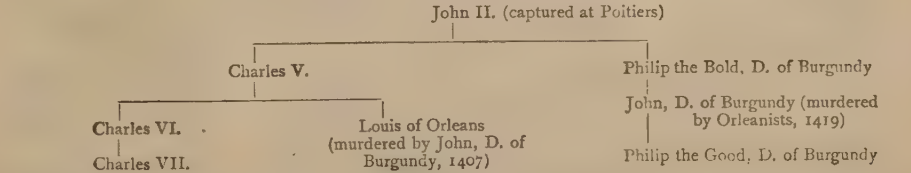
12. THE DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III.—LANCASTER, YORK, AND TUDOR


Edward III.
Edward, Black Prince
Richard II.
Lionel, D. of Clarence
Philippa = Edm. Mortimer, E. of March
Roger Mortimer, E. of March (decl. heir to throne 1385, d. 1398)
Edm. Mortimer, E. of March, d. 1424
Anne Mortimer = Richard, E. of Cambridge, exec. 1415
Richard, D. of York (killed at Wakefield, 1460)
Edward IV.
George, D. of Clarence
Richard III.
Will., D. of Suffolk (murdered 1450)
John de la Pole, = Elizabeth
D. of Suffolk
John, E. of Lincoln (killed at Stoke, 1487)
Edmund, E. of Suffolk (exec. 1513)
Richard (killed at Pavia, 1525)
Edward E. of Warwick (exec. 1499)
Margaret = Sir Richard Pole
Countess of Salisbury (exec. 1541)
Henry Pole, Lord Montacute (exec. 1539)
Reginald Pole (Cardinal)
Blanche = John of Gaunt = Catherine Swynford
Henry IV.
Henry V. = Catherine of France
Henry VI.
Edward, P. of Wales (slain at Tewkesbury, 1471)
Owen Tudor
Edm. Tudor, E. of Richmond
John Beaufort, E. of Somerset
John Beaufort, D. of Somerset
Margaret Beaufort
Henry VII. = Elizabeth
Henry VIII.
Edward V.
Edm. of Langley, D. of York
Richard, E. of Cambridge
Richard, D. of York
Katherine = Sir W. Courtenay,
Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter (exec. 1539)
Edward Courtenay (suggested husband for Queen Elizabeth, d. 1566)
Richard, D. of York
Thomas of Gloucester
Anne = Edm. Stafford, E. of Buckingham
Humphrey, D. of Buckingham, (killed 1460)
Humphrey, E. of Stafford = Margaret Beaufort, d. of Edm., D. of Somerset
Henry, D. of Buckingham, (exec. 1483)
Edward, D. of Buckingham (heir to throne next to Mary, exec. 1521)

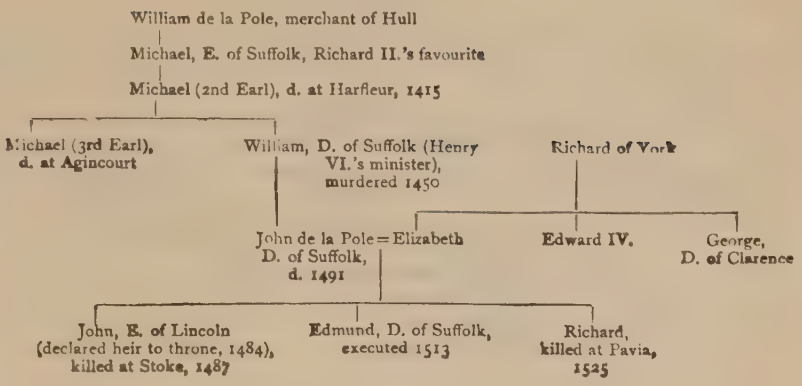
13. THE BEAUFORTS


John of Gaunt = Katherine Swynford
Cardinal Beaufort, d. 1447
John Beaufort, E. of Somerset, d. 1410
Thomas Beaufort, E. of Exeter, d. 1426
John, D. of Somerset, d. 1444
Edmund, D. of Somerset, killed at S. Albans, 1455
Margaret Beaufort = Edmund Tudor
Henry VII.
Henry, D. of Somerset, exec. 1463
Edmund, exec. 1471
John, killed at Tewkesbury 1470
Margaret = Humphrey, E. of Stafford

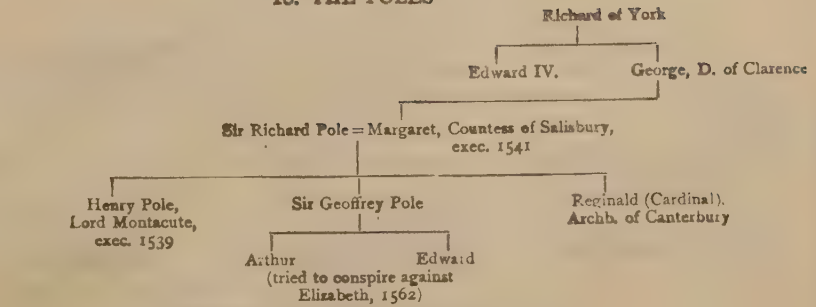
14. FRANCE AND BURGUNDY


John II. (captured at Poitiers)
Charles V.
Philip the Bold, D. of Burgundy
John, D. of Burgundy (murdered by Orleanists, 1419)
Philip the Good, D. of Burgundy
Charles VI.
Charles VII.
Louis of Orleans (murdered by John, D. of Burgundy, 1407)

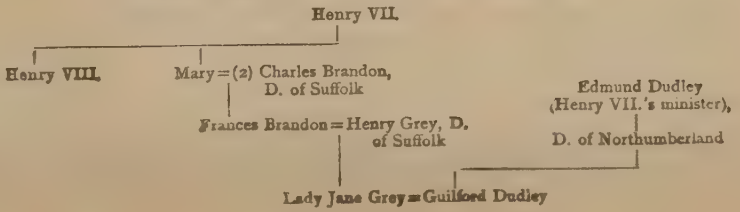
15. THE DE LA POLES


William de la Pole, merchant of Hull
Michael, E. of Suffolk, Richard II.'s favourite
Michael (2nd Earl), d. at Harfleur, 1415
Michael (3rd Earl), d. at Agincourt
William, D. of Suffolk (Henry VI.'s minister), murdered 1450
Richard of York
John de la Pole, D. of Suffolk, d. 1491
Elizabeth
Edward IV.
George, D. of Clarence
John, E. of Lincoln (declared heir to throne, 1484), killed at Stoke, 1487
Edmund, D. of Suffolk, executed 1513
Richard, killed at Pavia, 1525

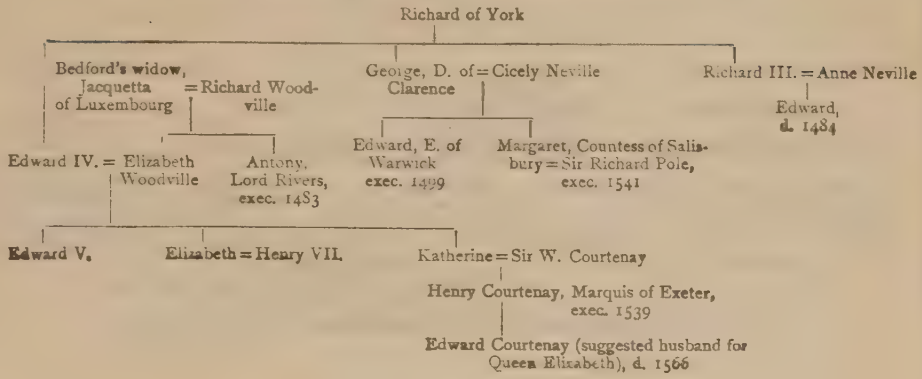
16. THE POLES


Richard of York
Edward IV.
George, D. of Clarence
Sir Richard Pole = Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, exec. 1541
Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, exec. 1539
Sir Geoffrey Pole
Reginald (Cardinal). Archb. of Canterbury
Arthur
Edward
(tried to conspire against Elizabeth, 1562)

17. LADY JANE GREY AND THE SUFFOLKS


Henry VII.
Henry VIII.
Mary = (2) Charles Brandon, D. of Suffolk
Frances Brandon = Henry Grey, D. of Suffolk
Edmund Dudley (Henry VII.'s minister),
D. of Northumberland
Lady Jane Grey = Guilford Dudley

18. YORKISTS, WOODVILLES, AND COURTENAYS


Richard of York
Bedford's widow, Jacquetta of Luxembourg
= Richard Woodville
George, D. of Clarence
= Cicely Neville
Richard III. = Anne Neville
Edward, d. 1484
Edward IV. = Elizabeth Woodville
Antony, Lord Rivers, exec. 1483
Edward, E. of Warwick exec. 1499
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury = Sir Richard Pole, exec. 1541
Edward V.
Elizabeth = Henry VII.
Katherine = Sir W. Courtenay
Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, exec. 1539
Edward Courtenay (suggested husband for Queen Elizabeth), d. 1566

II.—THE HOWARDS AND BOLEYNS.

Thomas Howard, sixth duke of Norfolk, d. 1554.
(Victor at Flodden.)

Sir W. Boleyn.

Thomas, duke of Norfolk, d. 1524

Sir Edmund Howard

William, Lord Howard of Effingham

Elizabeth=Sir Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire

Queen Catherine=Henry VIII.

Catherine=Henry VIII.

Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, first of the Howards, admiral against Armada.

Anne Boleyn=Henry VIII.

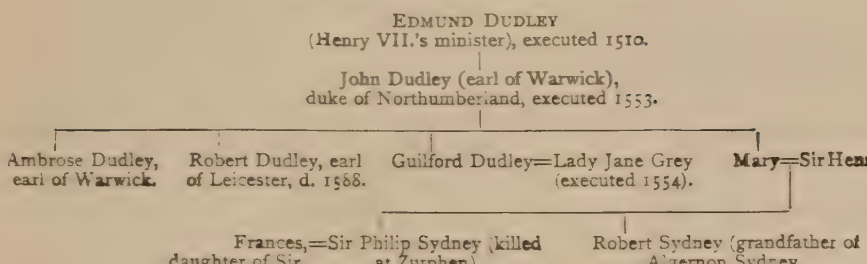
Queen Elizabeth

Thomas, duke of Norfolk, executed 1572

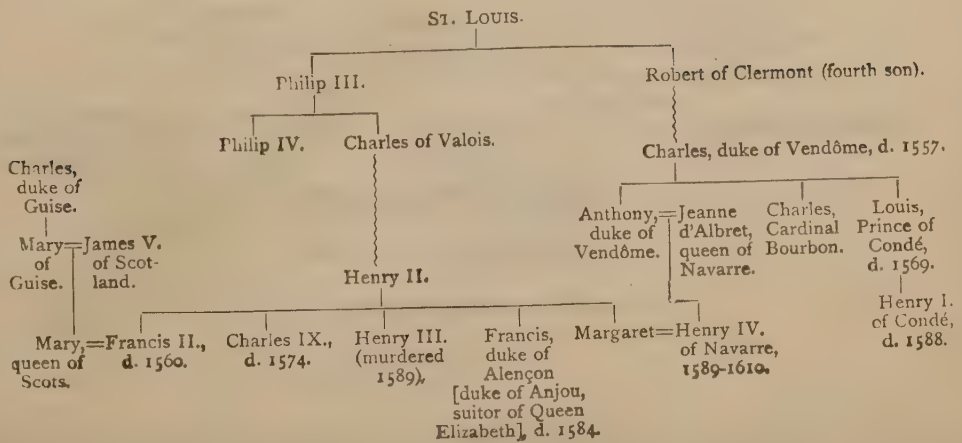
Philip

Lord Thomas Howard, admiral in Armada, 1588.

20.—THE DUDLEYS AND SYDNEYS.



21.—THE FRENCH ROYAL FAMILY.


St. Louis.
Philip III.
Robert of Clermont (fourth son).
Philip IV.
Charles of Valois.
Charles, duke of Vendôme, d. 1557.
Charles, duke of Guise.
Anthony, duke of Vendôme.
Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre.
Charles, Cardinal Bourbon.
Louis, Prince of Condé, d. 1569.
Mary of Guise.
James V. of Scotland.
Henry II.
Henry I. of Condé, d. 1588.
Mary, queen of Scots.
Francis II., d. 1560.
Charles IX., d. 1574.
Henry III. (murdered 1589).
Francis, duke of Alençon [duke of Anjou, suitor of Queen Elizabeth], d. 1584.
Margaret
Henry IV. of Navarre, 1589-1610.

DOCUMENTS

A.D. 78 TO 1603

1. How Julius Agricola tamed the Britons.

A.D. 78–84. Tacitus, "Life of Agricola," xxi. Latin, *contemporary*.

For to accustom to rest and repose, through the charms of luxury, a population scattered and barbarous, and therefore inclined to war, Agricola gave private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice, and dwelling-houses, praising the energetic and reproving the indolent. He likewise provided a liberal education for the sons of their chiefs, and showed such a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls, that they who lately disdained the tongue of Rome now coveted its eloquence. Hence, too, a liking sprang up for our style of dress, and the 'toga' became fashionable. Step by step they were led to things which disposed to vice—the lounge, the bath, the elegant banquet. All this, in their ignorance, they called civilisation, which is but a part of their servitude.

2. Expeditions of the Emperor Severus: The Britons of the North.

From Xiphiline's abridgment of Dion Cassius's "History."
A.D. 206. Greek, *flor. circa* A.D. 155 to 240.

Severus, observing that his two sons were abandoned to their pleasures, and that the soldiers neglected their exercises, undertook an expedition against Britain. . . . The two most considerable bodies of people of that island . . . are the Caledonians and the Mæatæ. The latter dwell near the great wall that separates the island into two parts; the others live beyond them. Both of them dwell upon barren uncultivated mountains, or in desert marshy plains, where they have neither walls nor towns, nor manured lands, but feed upon the milk of their flocks, on what they get by hunting, and wild fruits. They never eat fish, though they have great plenty of them. They have no houses, but tents, where they live naked. Their government is popular, and their chief employment is thieving. They fight upon chariots, and their horses are low, but swift. They have great agility of body, and tread very surely.

The arms they make use of are a buckler, a dagger, and a short spear, at the lower end of which is a ball of brass; with this they are wont to make a noise to frighten their enemies.

They are accustomed to fatigue, to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships; they can bury themselves in the morasses up to their necks, and live for several days without food.

Severus, having undertaken to reduce the whole island under his subjection, entered into Caledonia, where he had endless fatigues to sustain: forests to cut down, mountains to level, morasses to drain, and bridges to build. He had no battle to fight, and saw no enemies in a body. Instead of appearing, they exposed their flocks and herds, with a design to surprise those of our soldiers who should turn aside to plunder. Severus lost fifty thousand men there, and yet quitted not his purpose. He went to the extremity of the island, where he observed very carefully the course of the sun in those parts, and the length of the days and nights both in winter and summer. He was carried all over the island in a covered chair by reason of his infirmities, and made a treaty with the inhabitants, by which he obliged them to relinquish part of their country to him.

3. An Early Account of the German Tribes whose Descendants came to Britain in the Fifth Century.

Cæsar's "Commentaries," iv. i. Latin, *circa* 50 B.C.

The Suebi are by far the most numerous and warlike of all the German people. They are said to comprise a hundred clans, each of which annually sends a thousand armed men on a military expedition beyond the frontier. The rest of the population remain at home, and support the expeditionary force as well as themselves. Next year they take up arms in their turn, and the others remain at home. . . .

Private property in land does not exist, and no one is allowed to farm in one spot for more than one year. Not much corn is consumed, the people living chiefly on milk and

flesh meat, and they spend much time hunting. This, combined with the nature of their food, their constant exercise and their freedom from restraint . . . fosters their bodily strength. Moreover, even in the coldest districts, they have accustomed themselves to wear no clothing except skins, to leave a great part of their body bare, and to bathe in rivers. . . .

In cavalry combats they often dismount and fight on foot; they have trained their horses to stand still, and they can remount quickly when necessary.

According to their notion, nothing is more shameful or effeminate than the use of saddles, and so, however small their numbers, they are ready to encounter any number of cavalry who use them.

They have neither Druids to preside over sacred offices nor do they attach much importance to sacrifices.

They count as gods those only whom they can see, and by whose power they are benefited—namely, the sun, fire, and the moon.

Their whole life is occupied in hunting and in the pursuits of the military art; from childhood they devote themselves to fatigue and hardships. . . .

They do not pay much attention to agriculture, and a large portion of their food consists of milk, cheese, and flesh.

4. What Tacitus says of the German Tribes—How Assemblies of the People were held.

Tacitus, "Germania," xi. *sqq.* Latin, A.D. 98.

On less important matters the chiefs deliberate, on more important the whole tribe. But even where the final decision of a question rests with the people, it is fully discussed by the chiefs. Except where chance has brought about some unforeseen event, assemblies are held on fixed days when the moon is either new or full. . . . It is a fault resulting from liberty that they do not assemble all at once, or as they are bid, but two or even three days are wasted by delay in gathering together. The assembled throng take their seats as they please, with their arms. Silence is called by the priests,

who on these occasions have the right of maintaining order. Then the assembly is addressed by a chief, each as he is entitled by age or rank, martial renown or eloquence, but they have authority to persuade rather than power to command. If a speech offends, disapproval is shown by groans; if it pleases, a clashing of arms. . . . In these councils, too, are chosen the chiefs who administer justice in the districts and villages, each having the support of a hundred assessors from among the people.

They never transact any business, public or private, unarmed. But it is the custom that no one should take up arms until the State has formally recognised his ability to bear them. Then, in the actual presence of the council, the young warrior is armed with shield and spear by one of the chiefs or by his father or by a relation. . . .

They attach themselves to other chiefs of greater prowess and long-tried valour, and are not ashamed to appear in their retinue. Moreover, there are degrees among the retainers depending upon the will of the lord they follow. And there is keen rivalry among the retainers for the first place in their chief's regard, and among the chiefs to secure the largest and most valiant retinue. It is this that gives prestige and power. To be surrounded by a large band of chosen warriors is a distinction in peace and a protection in war. And a retinue distinguished in its size and valour means honour and renown, not only in the chief's own tribe, but also among neighbouring tribes. A chief so attended is courted by embassies and honoured with presents, and his mere fame is often enough virtually to decide a war.

In battle it is a disgrace to the chief to be outdone in prowess, and equally a disgrace to his followers to fall short of the prowess of their chief.

Their Occupations in Time of Peace.

When not engaged in war, they spend much of their time in the chase, but more in idleness, giving themselves up to eating and sleeping; the strongest and most warlike do nothing, leaving the management of the house and the cultivation of the land to the women and the old men and the weakest

members of the household, while they themselves lounge about. . . .

It is well known that the German tribes have no cities, and do not even tolerate houses joined together. They dwell apart, and at a distance from one another, just as they are attracted by spring or field or grove.

They do not build their villages as we do, with houses touching or adjoining one another; every one surrounds his house with an open space, either to afford protection in case of fire or as a result of ignorance. . . . Some portions of the building they carefully smear with a clear brilliant clay so as to resemble painting and coloured designs. They also dig subterranean caves, over which they heap quantities of refuse, to serve as shelter in winter or storehouses of grain. For such retreats temper the excessive cold, and when an army appears, while everything visible is ravaged, anything hidden and buried away either is unthought of or escapes discovery, for the very reason that it has to be looked for.

The sanctity of marriage is strictly observed, and this is the most praiseworthy feature of their civilisation. They stand almost alone among barbarian races, in that each man is content with one wife. The exceptions are few, and are due, not to indulgence, but to the court paid to high rank. The dowry is brought, not by wife to husband, but by husband to wife. Her parents and relatives are present, and approve the gifts, which are not chosen to gratify a woman's luxurious tastes or to provide adornment for a newly wedded bride, but consist of oxen, a bridled horse, shield, spear, and sword. Such are the gifts that seal the acceptance of a bride, and she in turn brings some portion of armour to her husband. This interchange of presents is regarded as the most solemn bond, and takes the place of mysterious rites and guardian deities of marriage. That the woman may not suppose herself cut off from heroic aspirations or the perils of war, she is reminded on the very threshold of marriage state that she comes to her husband as partner in his toils and danger, to suffer and to dare with him alike in peace and war. This is the significance of the gift of yoked oxen, war-horse, and armour. On these terms must she live and die. What she received she must

hand on to her children in a state unblemished and acceptable; her sons' wives must receive it, and in due course pass it to her children's children.

In every household the children, naked and filthy, grow up with those stout frames and limbs which we so much admire. The master is not distinguished from the slave by being brought up with greater delicacy. Both live amid the same flocks and lie on the same ground till the freeborn are distinguished by age and recognised by merit.

In their funerals there is no pomp; they simply observe the custom of burning the bodies of illustrious men with certain kinds of wood. . . . The arms of the dead man, and in some cases his horse, are consigned to the fire. A turf mound forms the tomb.

Appearance and Dress of the Germans.

All have fierce blue eyes, red hair, huge frames fit only for sudden exertion: they are less able to bear laborious work; heat and thirst they cannot in the least endure; to cold and hunger their climate and their soil inure them.

They carry a spear with a narrow and short head, but so sharp and easy to wield that the same weapon serves, according to circumstances, for close or distant conflict. As for the horse soldier, he is satisfied with a shield and spear. A few only have corselets, and just one or two here and there a metal or leathern helmet. . . .

They all wrap themselves in a cloak which is fastened with a clasp, or, if this is not forthcoming, with a thorn, leaving the rest of their persons bare. The women have the same dress as the men, except that they generally wrap themselves in linen garments, which they embroider in purple, and do not lengthen out the upper part of their clothing into sleeves.

5. An Irish Mission to the Picts

Bede "Ecclesiastical History," iii., iv.
Latin, *flor.* A.D. 973 to 735.

In the year of our Lord 565, when Justin the Younger, the successor of Justinian, obtained the government of the Roman Empire, there came into Britain from Ireland a

famous priest and abbot, marked as a monk by habit and manners of life, whose name was Columba, to preach the Word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts, who are separated from the southern parts belonging to that nation by steep and rugged mountains.

Columba came to Britain in the ninth year of the reign of Bridius . . . the powerful king of the Pictish nation, and he converted the nation to the faith of Christ by his preaching and example. Wherefore he received of them the gift of the aforesaid island (Iona) whereon to found a monastery. . . . Before he crossed over into Britain he had built a famous monastery in Ireland. From both the monasteries many others had their beginning through his disciples, both in Britain and in Ireland; but the island monastery where his body lies had the pre-eminence among them all.

6. Manner of Life of St. Columba.

Old Irish Life of St. Columba. Irish, tenth century.

There was not born of the Irish, however, a being more illustrious, or more wise, or of better family than Colum Cille. There came not of them any person who was more modest, more humble, or more lowly.

Great indeed was the humility of Colum Cille, for it was he himself that used to take their shoes off his monks, and that used to wash their feet for them. 'Tis he that used often to take his share of corn on his back to the mill, and that used to grind it and bring it home with him. 'Tis he that would not have linen or wool to his skin, that would not sleep until his side came in contact with the bare earth. Under his head there used not to be but a pillar-stone for a pillow, and he would even sleep only whilst his disciple Diarmait would be reciting three chapters of the "Beati." He would get up [immediately] after this, and would utter cries and lamentations, like unto a fond mother lamenting her only son. He would afterwards recite the "three fifties" (the Psalms) until morning in the sand of the seashore. . . . When he would lie in the sand, moreover, and his garments round him, the impression of his ribs through them was

plain. This was his night work. In the day following, however, he would frequent the Canonical Hours and would offer the Body of Christ and His Blood; and would preach the Gospel; would baptize and bless and anoint; would cure lepers, and the blind and lame, and people suffering from every disease. He used to resuscitate the dead. And he used not to drink ale, and used not eat meat, and used not eat savoury things . . . and he used to make two hundred genuflexions every day, and he had not a love of riches. . . .

When it came, then, to the last hours for Colum Cille, and when the bell was rung for matins on the night of Whit Sunday, he went before the others to the church, and made genuflexions and earnest prayers at the altar. At that time an angelic brightness filled the church about him on every side, and the venerable patron then resigned his spirit to heaven, to the joy and gladness of the people of heaven in general. His body, moreover, is in the earth here, with honour and veneration from God and men, attended with virtues and miracles every day of them (*i.e.*, since his death).

7. Advice sent to Augustine by Pope Gregory for Settlement of the Church in England.

Bede, "Ecclesiastical History," i. 30, A.D. 601.
Latin, *flor.* A.D. 673 to 735.

. . . I have long been considering in my own mind concerning the matter of the English people—to wit, that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed, but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let water be consecrated and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected and relics placed there. For if those temples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God.

And because they are used to slaughter many oxen in the worship of devils, some solemnity must be given them in exchange for this. . . . For there is no doubt that it impossible to cut off everything at once from their rude natures.

It is the custom of the Apostolic See to prescribe these

rules to bishops when they are ordained: that all emoluments which accrue are to be divided into four portions, one for the bishop and his household for hospitality and entertainment of guests; another for the clergy; a third for the poor; and the fourth for the repair of churches. But in that you, my brother, having been instructed in monastic rules, must not live apart from your clergy in the Church of the English, which has been lately by the will of God converted to the faith, you must establish the manner of conversation of our fathers in the primitive Church, among whom none said that aught of the things that he possessed was his own, but they had all things common.

You know, my brother, the custom of the Roman Church in which you were bred up. But my will is, that if you have found anything, either in the Roman or in the Gallican or in any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you should carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of things. Choose therefore from every Church, those things that are pious, religious, and right, and when you have, as it were, made them up into one bundle, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto.

8. How Augustine tried to establish Friendly Relations with the Old British Church.

Bede, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 2.
A.D. 597. Latin, *flor.* A.D. 673 to 735.

In the meantime, Augustine, with the help of King Ethelbert, drew together a conference of the bishops and doctors of the nearest province of the Britons, at a place which is to this day called, in the English language, Augustine's Ac—that is, Augustine's Oak—on the borders of the Hwiccas and West Saxons; and began by brotherly admonitions to persuade them to preserve Catholic peace with him, and undertake the common labour of preaching the Gospel to the heathen for the Lord's sake. For they did not keep Easter at the proper

time, but from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon. . . . Besides they did many other things, [*e.g.*, consecration of bishops by a single bishop, certain differences of ritual, and the cutting of the tonsure in the front instead of on the top of the head,] which were opposed to the unity of the Church. . . .

The Britons then confessed that they perceived that it was the true way of righteousness which Augustine taught, but that they could not depart from their ancient custom without the consent and sanction of their people. They therefore desired that a second time a synod should be appointed, at which more of their number should be present.

This being decreed, there came, it is said, seven bishops of the Britons, and many men of great learning, particularly from their most celebrated monastery, which is called in the English tongue Bancornaburg . . . (Bangor). They that were to go to the council betook themselves first to a certain holy and discreet man, who was wont to lead the life of a hermit among them, and consulted with him whether they ought, at the preaching of Augustine, to forsake their traditions. He answered: "If he was a man of God, follow him." "How shall we know?" said they. He replied: "Our Lord saith, Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart; if, therefore, Augustine is meek and lowly of heart, it is to be believed that he bears the yoke of Christ himself, and offers it to you to bear. But if he is harsh and proud, it is plain that he is not of God, nor are we to regard his word." They said again: "And how shall we discern even this?" "Do you contrive it," said the anchorite, "that he first arrive with his company at the place where the synod is to be held; and if at your approach he rises up to you, hear him submissively, being assured that he is the servant of Christ; but if he despises you, and does not rise up to you, whereas ye are more in number, let him also be despised by you."

They did as he directed, and it happened that as they approached Augustine was sitting on a chair. When they perceived it they were angry, and, charging him with pride, set themselves to contradict all he said.

He said to them: "Many things do ye do which are

contrary to our custom, or, rather, the custom of the Universal Church; and yet if you will comply with me in these matters, to wit, to keep Easter at the due time, to fulfil the ministry of Baptism, by which we are born again to God, according to the custom of the Holy Roman Apostolic Church, and join with us in preaching the Word of God to the English nation, we will gladly suffer all the other things you do, though contrary to our customs." They answered that they would do none of these things, nor receive him as their archbishop: for they said among themselves: "If he would not rise up to us now, how much more would he despise us as of no account, if we begin to be under his subjection?" Then the man of God, Augustine, is said to have threatened them, that, if they would not accept peace with their brethren, they should have war from their enemies; and if they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer at their hands the vengeance of death. All which, through the dispensation of Divine judgment, fell out exactly as he had predicted.

9. Differences between the Roman and Celtic Churches settled at the Council of Whitby, A.D. 664.

Bede, "Ecclesiastical History," iii. 25.
Latin, *flor.* A.D. 673 to 735.

At this time a great and frequently debated question arose about the observance of Easter; those that came from Kent or Gaul affirming that the Scots celebrated Easter Sunday contrary to the custom of the Universal Church. . . . Thus, it is said to have sometimes happened in those times that Easter was twice celebrated in one year, and that when the king, having ended his fast, was keeping Easter, the queen and her followers were still fasting and celebrating Palm Sunday.

Whilst Aidan lived, this difference of observing Easter was partially tolerated . . . but after the death of Finan, who succeeded him, a greater controversy arose about the observance of Easter and other rules of ecclesiastical life. . . . It was arranged that a synod should be held in the Monastery of Streaneshalch (Whitby), which signifies the "Bay of the Light-

nouse," where the Abbess Hilda, a woman devoted to the service of God, then ruled.

King Oswy first made an opening speech, in which he said that it behoved those who served one God to observe one rule in life; and as they all expected the same kingdom in heaven, so they ought not to differ in the celebration of the heavenly mysteries, but rather to inquire which was the truer tradition. He then commanded his bishop Colman first to declare what the custom was which he followed, and whence it derived its origin.

But Colman said: "The Easter which I keep I received from my elders who sent me here as a bishop. All our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated it in the same manner. . . . It is the same which the blessed John the Evangelist, the disciple specially beloved of the Lord, with all the Churches over which he presided, is recorded to have celebrated."

Then Wilfrid, being ordered by the king to speak, began thus: "The Easter which we keep we saw celebrated by all at Rome, where the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried. We saw the same done by all in Italy and Gaul. . . . We found it observed in Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, and all the world whereon the Church of Christ is spread abroad, among divers nations and tongues at one and the same time, save only among these and their accomplices in obstinacy—I mean the Picts and the Britons, who foolishly . . . strive to oppose all the rest of the world. . . .

"But as for you and your companions, you certainly sin if, having heard the decrees of the Apostolic See . . . you scorn to follow them. . . . And if that Columba of yours was a holy man and powerful in miracles, yet could he be preferred before the most blessed chief of the Apostles, to whom our Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven'?"

When Wilfrid had ended thus, the king said: "Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord?"

He answered: "It is true, O king!" Then said he: "Can you show any such power given to your Columba?" Colman answered: "None." Then again the king asked: "Do you both agree with this without any controversy, that these words were said above all to Peter, and that the keys of he kingdom of heaven were given to him by our Lord?" They both answered: "Yes." Then the king concluded: "And I also say unto you that he is the doorkeeper, and I will not gainsay him . . . lest haply when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys." The king having said this, all who were seated there or standing by, both great and small, gave their assent, and, renouncing the less perfect custom, hastened to conform to that which they had found to be the better.

10. Appearance and Equipment of the Norsemen—A Warship and Warriors.

Song of Beowulf. Old English, eighth century.

Time passed on: the bark was on the waves, the boat under the lea of the cliff. The warriors, equipped, stepped on to the prow; the currents churned the sea against the sand; men bore into the bosom of the ship bright armour, splendid war gear; the heroes, the warriors on their willing adventure, shoved off the vessel of braced timbers. Then the foamy-necked floater, most birdlike, started off over the billowy sea, urged onwards by the wind, until about the same time on the second day the curved prow had journeyed on so far that the voyagers saw the land, the sea-cliffs glisten—the steep mountains, the huge promontories. Then was the sea traversed, and the voyage at an end. After that the people of the Weders went quickly up on to dry land, they made fast the ship; their corselets, their battle-dress, rattled; then thanked God that for them the sea-path had been made easy.

. . . . . .

They went thence to the hall in their dread armour; each corselet, hard and hand-locked, glistened, each gleaming ring of iron chinked in their harness. Sea-weary they put their

broad shields, their trusty bucklers wondrous hard, against the palace wall; then seated they themselves upon the bench; the corselets, war-dresses of the heroes, rang; the spears were piled together, the war-gear of the seamen—the ashen wood—grey at the tip. . . .

Then a bench was cleared in the beer hall for the Geat men, all together; thither went the bold ones to sit, exulting in strength. A servant did his office, who bare in his hands an overlaid ale cup, and poured out the pure liquor. Now and again a minstrel sang, clear-voiced, in Heerot. There was revelry among the heroes. . . .

There was laughter of warriors, song sounded forth, the words were joyous, Wealhtheow, Hrothgar's queen, went forth, mindful of court usage, and greeted, gold-adorned, the men in the hall . . . the lady . . . went round every part of the hall, to seniors and juniors; proffered the costly goblet . . . the free-born folk queen, gold-bedecked, went by her lord to sit.

When even had come . . . they cleared the bench-boards, it (the hall) was spread about with beds and bolsters . . . they set war-bucklers at their heads, the shining shield-wood. There on the bench, above each noble, was exposed the helmet, prominent in war, the ringed habergeon, the proud spear-shaft.

It was their practice to be ever ready for the fray at home and in the field, and each of them at just such times as need befell their lord and master. They were an able race.

Then the son of Healfdene bestowed on Beowulf as the meed of victory a gilded ensign, a decorated staff banner, a helmet, and a corselet; numbers saw the jewelled sword of honour brought before the hero. Beowulf drank of the cup in hall; no need had he to be ashamed of the costly gifts before the warriors. Not many men have I known to give more heartily four (such) treasures, decked with gold, to others on the ale bench.

Around the helmet's crown a projecting rim, wound round with wires, kept guard outside over the head . . . what time the shielded warrior must go forth against foes.

Then the protector of nobles bade eight horses, with gold-

plated cheek-pieces, be brought up to the hall, within the precincts; on one of them was placed a saddle cunningly inlaid, adorned with jewels. . . .

In such manly wise did the renowned prince, treasure-warden of heroes, pay pluck in battle back with horses and with treasures. . . .

To him (Beowulf) the cup was borne, and friendly invitation was offered in words, and twisted gold graciously presented, two armlets, a mantle and rings, and the finest of torques I have ever known in this world.

11. Some Old Norse Sayings.

"Corpus Poeticum Boreale," Vigfusson and Powell.

Book I. i. The Guest's Wisdom.

Better be quick than dead. A live man may always get a cow.

The halt may ride a horse; the handless may drive a herd; the deaf may fight and do well; better be blind than buried. A corpse is good for naught.

Chattels die; kinsmen pass away; one dies oneself: I know one thing that never dies—a dead man's name (good or bad).

No man is so good but there is a flaw in him, nor so bad as to be good for nothing.

A man should be merry at home and cheerful with his guests, genial, of good manners and ready speech, if he will be held a man of parts. . . . Arch dunce is he who can speak naught, for that is the mark of a fool.

Go on; be not a guest ever in the same house. Welcome becomes Wearisome if he sit too long at another's table.

Praise the day at eventide; a woman at her burying; a blade when it is tried; a maid when she is married; ice when crossed; ale when drunk.

A ship for speed; a shield for shelter; a sword for a stroke; a maid for marriage.

A man should not step a foot beyond his weapons, for he can never tell where, on his path without, he may need his spear.

12. Sea-rovers harry the Coast and sail up the Rivers.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Old English.

Anno 787: Here King Berhtric took to wife Eadburh, daughter of Offa; and in his days first came three ships of Northmen from Haerethaland. And then the reeve rode thereto, and would compel them to go to the king's town, because he knew not what they were; and they slew him. These were the first ships of Danish men which sought the land of the English race.

Anno 794: And the heathen men harried among North umbrians and plundered Egferth's monastery at Donemuth (Wearmouth); and there was one of their leaders slain, and also some of their ships wrecked by a storm; and many of them were drowned there, and some came to shore alive, and were straightway slain at the river's mouth.

Anno 828: Here the heathen harried Sheppey.

Anno 831: Here Wulfhard, alderman, fought at Southampton against the crews of thirty-three ships, and there made great slaughter and got the victory. . . . And the same year Ethelhelm fought against a Danish army at Portland with the men of Dorset, and for a good while he put the army to flight, but the Danish men held possession of the battle-place, and slew the alderman.

Anno 838: Here Herebert, alderman, was slain by the heathen men, and many with him among the marshmen (of Romney); and again in the same year in Lindsey and in East Anglia and in Kent, and many men were slain by the army.

Anno 865: In this year a heathen army settled in Thanet, and made peace with the people of Kent, and the people of Kent promised them money for the peace; and during the peace and the promise of money the army stole itself away by night, and harried all the east of Kent.

Anno 867: And the same year a great army came to the land of the Angle race and took up their winter quarters among the East Angles, and there they were provided with horses; and the East Angles made peace with them.

Here the army went from East Anglia over mouth of the

Humber to York in Northumbria . . . and both (their) kings were slain; and the remainder made peace with the army.

Anno 870: In this year the army went again to York, and settled there one year.

Here the host rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford; and that winter Edmund fought against them, and the Danish men got the victory, and slew the king and subdued all that land and destroyed all the monasteries that they came to.

13. Wessex makes a Stand against the Invaders.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Old English.

Anno 851: The heathen men for the first time settled over winter in Thanet, and the same year came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames, and the crews stormed Canterbury and London, and put to flight Berhtwulf, King of the Mercians with his fyrd, and then fared south over the Thames to Surrey: and there King Æthelwulf and his son Æthelbald, with the fyrd of the West Saxons, fought against them at Ockley, and there made the greatest slaughter amongst the heathen that we have heard of to this present day, and there got the victory.

Here the same host fared into Mercia to Nottingham, and there took up their winter quarters.

Anno 868: And Burhred, King of the Mercians, and his Witan, begged of Æthelred, King of the West Saxons, and of Alfred his brother, that they would help him, that they should fight against the host. And then they fared with the fyrd of the West Saxons into Mercia as far as Nottingham, and there found the host of the Danes . . . but no heavy fighting took place, and the Mercians made peace with the host.

Anno 871: Here the host came to Reading in Wessex. . . . At the end of four nights King Æthelred and Alfred his brother led a great fyrd to Reading and fought against the host, and there was great slaughter made on either side; and Æthelwulf alderman was slain, and the Danish men had possession of the place of slaughter. And four nights after this, King Æthelred and Alfred his brother fought against the whole host at Ashdown; and they were in two bodies: in one

were Bachsegg and Halfden, the heathen kings; and in the other were the earls. And then the King Æthelred fought against the troops of the kings, and there was the King Bachsegg slain; and Alfred his brother against the troops of the earls.

And both hosts were put to flight, and many thousands slain; and the fighting continued until night. And at the end of fourteen nights King Æthelred and Alfred his brother fought against the host at Basing, and there the Danish men got the victory. And about two months afterwards King Æthelred and Alfred his brother fought against the host at Marden; and they were in two bodies; and they drove off both, and for long in the day were victorious; and there was great slaughter on either side, but the Danes had possession of the place of slaughter. . . . And thereupon, after Easter, King Æthelred died. He reigned five years, and his body lies at Wimborne.

14. Instances from Saxon Wills of the Freeing of Slaves as an Act of Charity.

Codex Diplomaticus, No. 925. Early English, *contemporary*.

Geatflæd freed for God's sake and for her soul's need, namely, Ecceard the smith and Ælfstan and his wife and all their offspring born and unborn; and Arcil and Cole and Ecgferth, Eadhun's daughter, and all the men who bent their heads for food in the evil days.

Whoso shall set this aside, and deprive her soul of this, may Almighty God deprive him both of this life and of the kingdom of heaven, and be he accursed quick or dead for ever and ever.

15. Youth of Alfred.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Early English.

A.D. 855: And in the same year he (King Æthelwulf) went to Rome with great honour, and he took his said son Alfred with him on that journey for the second time. For he loved him above his other sons. And there he remained one full year; and when it had passed he returned to his own land.

bringing with him Judith, daughter of Charles, King of the Franks.

Now, it chanced on a certain day that his mother showed him and his brothers a book of Saxon poetry, which she had in her hand, and said: "I will give this book to that one among you who shall the most quickly learn it." Then, moved at these words, or rather by the inspiration of God, and being carried away by the beauty of the initial letter of that book, anticipating his brothers, who surpassed him in years but not in grace, he answered his mother, and said: "Will you of a truth give that book to one of us? To him who shall soonest understand and repeat it to you?" And at that she smiled and was pleased, and affirmed it, saying: "I will give it to him." Then forthwith he took the book from her hand, and went to his master and read it; and when he had read it he brought it back to his mother, and repeated it to her. After this he learnt the *Daily Course*—that is, the services for each hour—and then some psalms and many prayers. These were collected in one book, which, as we have ourselves seen, he constantly carried about with him everywhere in the fold of his cloak, for the sake of prayer amid all the passing events of this present life. But, alas! the art of reading (Latin), which he most earnestly desired, he did not acquire in accordance with his wish, because, as he was wont himself to say, in those days were no men really skilled in reading in the whole realm of the West Saxons.

A.D. 868: In the year of the incarnation of the Lord eight hundred and sixty-eight, which was the twentieth year from the birth of King Alfred, the same revered King Alfred, being then the recognised heir to the kingdom, sought and obtained a wife from Mercia. . . .

In the same year the aforesaid army of pagans departed from the Northumbrians and came into Mercia. And it reached Nottingham . . . and in that year the army wintered in that place. On the arrival of the heathen, Burhred, King of the Mercians, and all the nobles of the same people, forthwith sent messengers to Æthelred, King of the West Saxons, and to Alfred his brother, making humble petitions that they would come to their help, that they might be able to

fight with the said army; and they obtained their prayer with ease.

So those brothers, not being slack in the performance of their promise, gathered a great army from every side and entered Mercia, and came in company as far as Nottingham, seeking battle. And when the heathen, being safe in the protection of the fortress, would not give battle, and when the Christians could not break down the wall, peace was made between the Mercians and the pagans, and those two brothers, Æthelred and Alfred, returned home.

16. ALFRED DRIVEN FROM HIS KINGDOM BY THE DANES.

Asser, "Life of Alfred." Latin, *contemporary.*

Anno 871: Then Alfred, son of Æthelwulf, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. And about one month afteawards King Alfred, with a small band, fought against the whole host at Wilton, and for long in the day drove them off; but the Danish men had possession of the place of slaughter. And this year nine folk fights were fought against the host in the kingdom to the south of the Thames, beside those raids which Alfred, the king's brother, and a simple alderman, and the king's thegns, oftentimes made upon them, which were not counted; and within the year nine earls and one king were slain. And that year the West Saxons made peace with the host.

Anno 875: And that summer King Alfred fared out to sea with a ship-host, and fought against the crews of seven ships, and took one of them and put the others to flight.

Anno 876: Here the host stole away from the fyrd of the West Saxons and got into Wareham. And afterwards the king made peace with the host; and they gave to the king as hostages those that were most honoured in the host, and they swore oaths to him on the holy ring—which never before would they do to any people—that they should speedily fare from his kingdom. And under cover of this, that part of the host which was horsed stole away by night from the fyrd, and got into Exeter. And that year Halfden apportioned the lands of the Northumbrians, and thenceforth they were ploughing and providing for themselves.

Anno 877: Here the host came to Exeter from Wareham; and the ship-host sailed west. . . . And the King Alfred, with his fyrd, rode after the mounted host up to Exeter, and they were unable to overtake them from behind before they were in the fortress, where they might not be reached. And they gave to him important hostages, as many as he would have, and swore great oaths, and then they maintained good peace.

Anno 878: Here at mid-winter, after Twelfth Night, the host stole away to Chippenham, and overran the land of the West Saxons, and occupied it, and drove oversea many of the folk; and they conquered the most part of the rest, and forced them to submit, save King Alfred, and he, with a little band, fared with difficulty to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors.

17. Alfred's Dream and Visit to the Danish Camp.

William of Malmesbury, "Gesta Regum Anglorum," iii. Part I. Latin, twelfth century.

For nine successive years, battling with his enemies, some times deceived by false treaties and sometimes wreaking his vengeance on the deceivers, he was at last reduced to such extreme distress—scarcely three counties, that is to say, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire, standing fast by their allegiance—that he was compelled to retreat to a certain island named Adelingia, which from its marshy situation was hardly accessible. He was accustomed afterwards, when in happier circumstances, to relate to his companions in a lively and agreeable manner his perils there, and how he escaped them by merits of St. Cuthbert; for it mostly happens that men are pleased with the recollection of those circumstances which formerly they most dreaded to encounter. During his retreat in this island, as he was one day in the house alone, his companions being dispersed on the river-side for the purpose of fishing, he endeavoured to refresh his weary frame with sleep; and, behold! Cuthbert, formerly Bishop of Lindisfarne, addressed him while sleeping, in the following manner: "I am Cuthbert if ever you heard of me. God

hath sent me to announce good fortune to you; and since England has already largely paid the penalty of her crimes, God now, through the merits of her native saints, looks upon her with an eye of mercy. You too, so pitiably banished from your kingdom, shall shortly be again seated with honour on your throne, of which I give you this extraordinary token: your fishers shall this day bring home a large quantity of great fish in baskets, which shall be so much more extraordinary because the river, at this time rugged with ice, could warrant no such expectation, especially as the air, now dripping with cold rain, mocks the art of the fisher. But when your fortune shall succeed to your wishes, you will act as becomes a king, if you conciliate God your helper, and me His messenger, with suitable devotion." Saying this, the saint relieved the sleeping king of his anxiety, and comforted his mother also, who was lying near him, and endeavouring to invite some gentle slumbers to her hard couch to relieve her cares, with the same joyful intelligence. Both awaking, they repeatedly declared that each had had the selfsame dream, when the fishermen, entering, displayed such a multitude of fish as would have been sufficient to satisfy the appetite of a numerous army. Not long after, venturing from his concealment, he hazarded an experiment of consummate art. Accompanied only by one of his faithful adherents, he entered the tent of the Danish king under the disguise of a mimic, and being admitted, in his assumed capacity of jester, to every corner of the banqueting-room, there was no object of secrecy that he did not minutely attend to both with eyes and ears. Remaining there several days, until he had satisfied his mind on every matter which he wished to know, he returned to Adelingia, and, assembling his companions, pointed out the indolence of the enemy and the easiness of their defeat. All were eager for the enterprise, and himself collecting forces from every side, and learning exactly the situation of the barbarians from scouts whom he had sent out for that purpose, he suddenly attacked and routed them with incredible slaughter. The remainder, with their king, gave hostages that they would embrace Christianity and depart from England which they performed; for their king, Gudrum, whom our,

people call Gudmund, with thirty nobles and almost all the commonalty, was baptized, Alfred standing sponsor for him.

18. Alfred's Care for the Instruction of his People.

Asser, "Life of Alfred," Latin, *contemporary*.

Yet amid the wars and many hindrances of this present life, and amid the assaults of the pagans and his daily illness, the king ceased not from governance of the kingdom and from the pursuit of every form of hunting.

Nor did he omit to instruct also his goldsmiths and all his artificers, his falconers, his huntsmen, and the keepers of his dogs; nor to make according to new designs of his own articles of goldsmith's work, more venerable and more precious than had been the wont of all his predecessors. He was constant in the reading of books in the Saxon tongue, and more especially in committing to memory the Saxon poems, and in commanding others to do so. And he by himself laboured most zealously with all his might. . . .

He would obtain, whensoever he could, those who might assist his righteous intention, and who might be able to help him in acquiring the wisdom for which he longed, whereby he should gain his passionate desire. . . .

But then God sent some comfort to the goodwill of the king . . . and He gave him, as it were, certain lights. For He gave him Werferth, who was bishop of the church at Worcester, and who was well learned in the Holy Scriptures. . . .

And He sent Plegmund, a Mercian by nation, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, a reverend man and one endued with wisdom; and Athelstan also and Werwulf, priests and chaplains, Mercians by race, learned men. . . . For day and night, and whenever he had any leisure, he commanded such men to read books before him, nor would he ever suffer himself to be without one of them. And for this cause he had knowledge of almost all books, though as yet he was not able to understand anything from the books, for he had still not begun to read anything (*i.e.* Latin).

19. King Alfred's Fleet.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *anno* 897. Old English.

The same year the armies from the East Angles and Northumbrians harassed the land of the West Saxons chiefly on the south coast, by marauding bands, most of all by their long ships, which they had built many years before. Then King Alfred commanded long ships to be built against them, which were full nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, others more; they were both swifter and steadier and higher, too, than the others. They were shapen neither in the Frisian manner nor in the Danish, but as it seemed to him that they might be more useful. Then, at a certain period of the same year, came six ships to Wight, and there did much evil both in Devon and nearly everywhere along the sea-coast. Then the king bade his men go thither with nine of the new ships, and they blockaded against them the mouth into the open sea. Then they went with three ships out against them, and three lay high up in the mouth in the dry, for the men had gone off on shore. Then took they two of three ships at the outward mouth, and slew the men, and the one escaped; in which, also, the men were slain save five; they got away because the ships of the others had grounded . . . but when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, then the Danish men went from their three ships to the other three, which were left aground by the tide, on their side, and there they fought. . . . Then were slain, of all the men English and Frisian sixty-two, and of the Danish men one hundred and twenty. Then, however, the tide came to the Danish ships before the Christians could push theirs off, and therefore they rowed out and away. They were then so damaged that they could not round the land of the South Saxons; and there the sea cast two of them on land, and the men were led to the king at Winchester, and he commanded them to be hanged; and the men who were in the one ship came to East Anglia sorely wounded.

20. Penalties for Assault and Damage.

"Ancient Laws and Institutes," Thorpe.
Early English, ninth century.

If a man strike out another's eye, let him pay sixty shillings, and six shillings and six pennies and a third part of a penny as compensation. If it remain in the head, and he cannot see aught therewith, let one-third of the compensation be retained.

If a man strike off another's nose, let him make compensation with sixty shillings.

If a man be wounded on the shoulder so that the joint-oil flow out, let compensation be made with thirty shillings.

If the shooting (*i.e.*, fore) finger be struck off, the compensation is fifteen shillings; for its nail it is four shillings.

21. The Courts of Justice.

"Ancient Laws and Institutes," Thorpe. Early English.

Edgar, 959-975: This is the ordinance how the hundred shall be held. First, that they meet always within four weeks, and that every man do justice to another.

Athelstan, 930 (cap. 20): If any one (when summoned) fail to attend the gemot thrice, let him pay the king's "oferhyrnes" (fine), and let it be announced seven days before the gemot is to be. But if he will not do right nor pay the "oferhyrnes," then let all the chief men belonging to the "burh" ride to him, and take all that he has, and put him in "borh" (*i.e.*, find surety for him).

Edward, *circa* 920 (cap. 11): I will that each reeve have a gemot always once in four weeks, and so do that every man be worthy of folk-right; and that every suit have an end and a term when it shall be brought forward. If that any one disregard, let him make compensation as we have before ordained.

Canute, 1016-1035 (cap. 18): And thrice a year let there be a "burh gemot," and twice a "shire gemot," under penalty of the fine, as is right, unless there be need oftener. And let there be present the bishop of the shire and the alderman, and there let both expound as well the law of God as the secular law.

Divisions of Shires and of Hundreds.

The divisions of the shires with jurisdiction over the king's four highways belong specially to the king. Those of the hundreds and the wapentakes to the earls and the sheriffs, with the jurisdiction of the county.

22. Ranks among the English.

"Ancient Laws and Institutes," Thorpe. Laws of Athelstan, *circa* A.D. 920. Early English.

1. It was whilom, in the laws of the English, that people and law went by ranks, and then were the counsellors of the nation of worship worthy each according to his condition, eorl and ceorl, thegn (knight) and theoden (lord).

2. And if a ceorl throve, so that he had fully five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and burhgate, seat and special duty in the king's hall, then was he henceforth of thegn-right worthy.

5. And if a thegn throve so that he became an eorl, then was he of eorl-right worthy.

6. If a merchant throve, so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he thenceforth of thegn-right worthy.

7. And if there a scholar were who through learning throve, so that he had Holy Orders and served Christ, then was he thenceforth of rank and power so much worthy as then to those Orders right fully belonged, if he himself conducted so as he should; unless he should misdo, so that he those Orders' ministry might not minister.

8. And if it happened that any one, a man in Orders or a stranger, anywhere injured, by word or work, then pertained it to king and to bishop, that they should make good as they soonest might.

23. How the Ordeal was held.

"Ancient Laws and Institutes," Thorpe. Laws of Athelstan, A.D. 925–940. Early English.

And concerning the ordeal, we enjoin, by command of God, and of the archbishop, and of all bishops, that no man

come within the church after the fire is borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the Mass priest, and him who shall go thereto; and let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark, by the man's feet who goes thereto. But if it be water, let it be heated till it low to boiling. And be the kettle of iron or of brass, of lead or of clay. And if it be a single accusation, let the hand dive after the stone up to the wrist; and if it be threefold, up to the elbow. And when the ordeal is ready, then let two men go in of either side; and be they agreed that it is so hot as we before have said. And let go in an equal number of men on either side, and stand on both sides of the ordeal, along the church; and let these all be fasting . . . and let the Mass priest sprinkle holy water over them all, and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and the image of Christ's Rood to kiss; and let no man mend the fire any longer when the hallowing is begun, but let the iron be upon the hot embers until the last collect; after that let it be laid upon the "stapela" (post), and let there be no other speaking within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God that He make manifest what is soothest. And let him go thereto; and let his hand be enveloped, and be it postponed till after the third day, whether it be foul or clean within the envelope. And he who shall break this law, let the ordeal in respect to him be void, and let him pay to the king cxx shillings as "wite."

24. Duty of Pursuing a Thief.

"Ancient Laws and Institutes," Thorpe. Laws of Edgar, 959–975. Early English.

2. That a thief shall be pursued. . . . If there be present need let it be known to the hundred man, and let him make it known to the tithingmen; and let all go forth where God may direct them to go.

Laws of Ini, A.D. 690.

Cap. 36: Let him who takes a thief, or to whom one taken is given, and he lets him go, or conceals the thief, pay for the thief according to his money value. If he be an aldorman, let him forfeit his shire, unless the king is willing to be merciful to him.

25. Regulations for Trade.

"Ancient Laws and Institutes," Thorpe. Laws of Edgar, A.D. 959-975. Early English.

And let every man with their witness buy and sell every of the chattels that he may buy or sell, either in a burgh or in a wapentake, and let every of them, when he is first chosen as witness, give the oaths that he never, neither for money nor for love nor for fear, will deny any of those things of which he was witness, nor declare any other thing in witness save that alone which he saw or heard; and of such sworn men let there be at every bargain two or three as witness.

And let one money pass through the king's dominion, and that let no man refuse; and let one measure and one weight pass, such as is observed at London and at Winchester; and let the wey of wool go for cxx pence, and let no man sell it cheaper; and if any one sell it cheaper, either publicly or privately, let each pay xl shillings to the king, both him who sells it and him who buys it.

26. Extracts from the Will of a Rich Saxon Lady, circa A.D. 970.

Printed in Thorpe's "Diplomatarium Anglicum." Early English, *contemporary*.

✠ I Wulfwaru pray my dear lord King Æthelred in charity, that I may be worthy of my testament. I make known to thee, here, by this writing, what I give to St. Peter's monastery in Bath, for my poor soul and for my parents', from whom my property and my possessions came to me. That then is, that I give thither, to the holy place, one torque of sixty mancuses of gold, and one bowl of two pounds and a half, and two golden roods, and one Mass robe with all that belongs, and one "dorsal," the best I have, and one bed furniture with wall hanging and coverlet, and with all that thereto belongs. And I give to Abbot Ælfere the land at Freshford, with meat and with men, and with all the tilth which shall be thereon produced. And I give to Wulfmær, my elder son, the land at Claverton, with meat and with men and with all the tilth. . . . And I give to Gode, my elder

daughter, the land at Windford, with meat and with men and with all the tilth, and two cups of four pounds, and one band of thirty mancuses of gold, and two brooches, and one female attire complete. And to Alfwaru, my younger daughter, I give all the female attire that shall be left. . . . And I give to Wulfmær, my son, one hall-wall hanging and one bed furniture. To Ælfwine, my second son, I give one hall-hanging and one chamber-hanging, with table covering and with all the cloths which thereto belong. . . . And I give to all my household women in common one good chest, well supplied. And I will that those that succeed to my property, feed twenty freedmen, ten in the east, and ten in the west. And ever, in every year, all in common, with one refection in Bath, as good as they best can supply it. . . . Such of them as shall perform this, may he have God's mercy and mine; and such of them as will not perform it, may he have to account with the Highest, that is the true God, who created and wrought all creatures.

27. The Song of the Battle of Brunanburh.

(Freely translated by C. L. Thomson.)

Note: The lines read straight across the page.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *anno* 937.

Then Æthelstan King,
the bracelet-bestower,
Edward Atheling,
won by warring
at Brunanburh.
with the hammer's heavings
the offspring of Edward.
by their forefathers,
'gainst every foeman
their hoards and their homes.
and the sea-goers,
fell death-doomed;
with blood of the warriors
bright in the morning,

lord over earls,
and eke his brother
life-long glory
with edge of the sword
The shield wall they clove:
they hewed the phalanx,
As it was given them
that they in fight oft
their land should defend,
The foeman cringed,
the Scottish people,
the field was drenched
from when the sun arose
the mighty planet

over the earth glided,
the Eternal Ruler,
sank to his setting.
pierced with the spears;
shot o'er the shield;
weary of war.
forth the West Saxons went,
following the foeman's track,
terribly hewing
Nor did the Mercians
against the heroes
over the watery surge,
doomed to the conflict,
There on the battle-field
lulled by the sword-edge
Likewise seven
and countless men,
There put to flight was
driven by need
with a little band.

the king departed
saving his life.
the old one in flight, came
to his northern kin.
the hoary warrior
reft of his kinsmen,
on battle-field:
there on the war-stead,
left he his son,
The grey-haired warrior
of the sword slaughter,
nor Anlaf either;
small vaunt could they make
they had the better.
when banners were joining,

and men rushed together,
the game that they played
Light of the Lord,
until the noble one
There lay many a man
many a Northman,
many a Scotchman eke,
But all the livelong day
in warlike companies
behind the flyers,
with mill-sharp maces.
shrink from the handplay,
who with Anlaf
over the ocean's lap,
sought out the land.
five young kings
slumbered together.
of the earls of Anlaf,
Scotchmen and shipmen.
the chief of the Northmen,
to the ship's prow
He pushed then his bark out;
over the fallow flood,
Likewise also,
Constantine
Little need had
to boast of battle,
robbed of his comrades,
slain in the conflict,
pierced through with wounds
young in the war.
needed not boast him
the old deceiver,
with fragments of armies,
that in battle work
In places of slaughter,
and spearheads were mingling,
and weapons were clashing,
with the children of Edward

Then in their nail-decked boats went forth the Northmen,
the leaving of arrows, over the fallow sea,
over the waters deep, Dublin to visit.
And sad in mind once more sought they their country.
Likewise the brothers twain, king and ætheling,
turned to their kindred, the land of Wessex,
in war rejoicing. Left they behind them,
to the swart raven, horny of nib,
and the white-tipped eagle, corpses for feasting,
sallow and pallid; to the greedy hawk
and that grey beast, the wolf of the weald.
Never was slaughter more in this island,
more people overthrown, slain with the sword-edge,
as the old stories say, and ancient teachers,
since from the east here English and Saxons
came o'er the water's edge, seeking out Britain,
warriors haughty, subduing the Welsh,
and, eager for glory, found here a home.

28. Visit of King Cnut to Rome.

Florence of Worcester, "Chronicon ex Chronicis," ed. Benjamin Thorpe. Latin, twelfth century.

A.D. 1031: Canute, King of the English, Danes, and Norwegians, went from Denmark with great state to Rome, and made large offerings of gold and silver and other valuables to St. Peter, prince of Apostles; and obtained from Pope John (XIX.) the exemption of the school of the English from all toll and tribute.

On his journey there and back he gave great alms to the poor, and abolished at great pecuniary cost many border barriers, where taxes used to be extorted from pilgrims. Moreover, he avowed to God, before the sepulchre of the Apostles, that he would amend his life and conversation; and he sent thence to England a memorable letter by the hands of Living, his companion on the journey, a very prudent man, who was then Abbot of Tavistock . . . whilst he returned from Rome the way he went, visiting Denmark before England.

29. How the Norsemen settle at Rouen and hold the Country round it.

Chronicle of Richer, "Collection of Pertz," vol. iii.
Latin, tenth century.

A.D. 887–88: These terrible calamities (*i.e.*, minority of Charles the Simple) encouraged the pirates established in the province of Rouen, which forms part of Celtic Gaul, to commit horrible excesses. These people had come long since from the most northerly islands; and having traversed the ocean in their ships, they landed in this province of Gaul. They often attacked it openly, and were often driven away by the princes of the country. But since this meant perpetual warfare, the chiefs of Gaul advised the king to give up their province to the barbarians on condition that they would entirely abandon idolatry and faithfully observe the Christian religion; in addition they were to fight loyally by land and sea for the kings of Gaul. Rouen, the capital of the province, holds six cities in dependence—namely, Bayeux, Avranches, Evreux, Seez, Coutance, and Lisieux—and these, we know, have for long been in the possession of the pirates. These same pirates, impelled by their native cruelty, turned their arms against the divided princes, and infested with their brigandage the province of Brittany, adjacent to Gaul, and owing her military service. Then, as occasion offered, they trampled under foot their plighted word, advanced into Gaul, spread themselves everywhere, and carried away with them rich booty of women, children, and flocks . . . in the same way they frequently ravaged the whole of Celtic Gaul between the Seine and the Loire, known as Neustria.

30. Duke William prepares for Invasion.

Wace, "Chronicle of the Conquest," chap. x
Old French, twelfth century

Then the duke called in his good neighbours the Bretons, Mansels, and Angevins, and those of Pontife and Boloigne, to come with him in his need. To those who wished he promised lands if he should conquer England. To many he promised

other rewards, good pay and rich gifts. From all sides he summoned soldiers who would serve him.

He sent to the Apostle (Pope) by clerks who could tell truly how Harold had used him. . . . He said perjury ought to be punished according to the rules of Holy Church; and that, if by God's will he should conquer England, he would receive it of St. Peter, and do service for it to none but God.

The Apostle granted his request, and sent him a gonfanon and a very precious, rich and fair ring, which he said had under the stone one of St. Peter's hairs. With these tokens he commanded, and in God's name granted to him, that he should conquer England, and hold it of St. Peter.

The fame of the Norman duke soon went forth through many lands: how he meant to cross the sea against Harold, who had taken England from him. Then soldiers came flocking to him, one by one, two by two, and four by four; by fives and sixes, sevens and eights, nines and tens; and he retained them all, giving them much and promising more.

31. Saxons and Normans.

("Gesta Regum Anglorum," William of Malmesbury, (1095?–1142?). Translated by J. A. Giles.

This was a fatal day to England, a melancholy havoc of our dear country, through its change of masters. For it had long since adopted the manners of the Angles, which had been very various according to the times; for in the first years of their arrival, they were barbarians in their look and manners, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rites; but, after embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees and in process of time, from the peace they enjoyed, regarding arms only in a secondary light, they gave their whole attention to religion. I say nothing of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bounds of justice. I omit men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect to their profession, and sometimes the fear of shame, suffer not deviate from the truth. I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure; some of whom in their own country, and others at

Rome, changing their habit, obtained a heavenly kingdom and a saintly intercourse. Many during their whole lives in outward appearance only embraced the present world, in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor, or divide them amongst monasteries. What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits, and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its natives, that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint, beside the numbers of whom all notices have perished through the want of records? Nevertheless, in process of time, the desire after literature and religion had decayed, for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments, and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments, and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers. . . . The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing on their property, or by selling their persons into foreign countries; although it be an innate quality of this people to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth. Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses; unlike the Normans and French, who, in noble and splendid mansions, lived with frugality. The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed; hence it arose that engaging William, more with rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery, by one, and that an easy, victory. "For nothing is less effective than rashness; and what begins with violence, quickly ceases or is repelled." In fine, the English at that time wore short garments reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped; their beards shaven; their arms laden

with golden bracelets; their skin adorned with punctured designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; as to the rest, they adopted their manners. I would not, however, have these bad propensities universally ascribed to the English. I know that many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation, were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account; the accusation does not involve the whole indiscriminately. "But, as in peace, the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together; so, equally, does His severity sometimes include them both in captivity."

Moreover, the Normans, that I may speak of them also, were at that time and are even now, proudly apparelled, delicate in their food, but not excessive. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy; and where strength fails of success, ready to use stratagem, or to corrupt by bribery. As I have related, they live in large edifices with economy; envy their equals; wish to excel their superiors; and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offence renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money. They are, however, the kindest of nations, and they esteem strangers worthy of equal honour with themselves. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the observances of religion, which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites; so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he had neglected to signalise by some magnificent action.

32. Some Statutes of William the Conqueror.

Trans. from Latin quoted by Stubbs, "Select Charters," 8th ed., p. 83.

1. Firstly that above all things he wishes one God to be venerated throughout his whole kingdom, one faith of Christ always to be kept inviolate, peace and security to be observed between the English and the Normans.

2. We decree also that every free man shall affirm by a compact and an oath that within and without England, he desires to be faithful to King William to preserve with him his lands and his honour with all fidelity, and first to defend him against his enemies.

3. I will moreover that all the men whom I have brought with me or who have come after me, shall be in my peace and quiet. And if one of them shall be slain, the lord of his murderer shall seize him within five days, if he can; but if not he shall begin to pay to me forty-five marks of silver as long as his possessions shall hold out. But when the possessions of the lord of that man are at an end, the whole hundred in which the slaying took place shall pay in common what remains.

7. This also I command and will, that all shall hold and keep the law of Edward the king with regard to their lands, and with regard to all their possessions, those provisions being added which I have made for the utility of the English people.

33. The Conqueror's Character.

1087. Saxon Chronicle. Translated by J. A. Giles.

If any would know what manner of man King William was, the glory that he obtained, and of how many lands he was lord; then will we describe him as we have known him, we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court. This King William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on

the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England; moreover this land was filled with monks who lived after the rule of St. Benedict; and such was the state of religion in his days that all that would might observe that which was prescribed by their respective orders. King William was also held in much reverence: he wore his crown three times every year when he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times, all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls, thegns, and knights. So also, was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees, and abbots from their offices, and he imprisoned thegns, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo. This Odo was a very powerful bishop in Normandy, his see was that of Bayeux, and he was foremost to serve the king. He had an earldom in England, and when William was in Normandy he was the first man in this country, and him did he cast into prison. Amongst other things the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom-full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him. He reigned over England, and being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole of which he knew not the possessor, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Britons was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover he had full dominion over the Isle of Man (Anglesey): Scotland also was subject to him from his great strength; the land of Normandy was his by inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle. Truly there was

much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built, and oppressed the poor. The king was also of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, and this, either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice, and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free. The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live; or would keep their lands; or would hold their possessions; or would maintain their rights. Alas! that any man should so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him the forgiveness of his sins! We have written concerning him these things, both good and bad, that virtuous men might follow after the good, and wholly avoid the evil, and might go in the way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven.

34. Domesday Book.

1086. Saxon Chronicle. Translated by J. A. Giles.

At mid-winter, the king was at Gloucester with his Witan, and he held his court there five days; and afterwards the archbishop and clergy held a synod during three days, and Maurice was there chosen to the bishopric of London, William to that of Norfolk, and Robert to that of Cheshire; they were all clerks of the king. After this the king had a great consultation, and spoke very deeply with his Witan concerning this land, how it was held and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write

down how much land belonged to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbots, and his earls, and that I may be brief, what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, and that was not set down on the accounts, and then all these writings were brought to him.

35. Extracts from Domesday Book.

From the Victoria County Histories.

(1) (Berkshire.) King William holds Windsor in demesne. King Edward held it. There are 20 hides. On the demesne is one plough, and there are 22 villeins and 2 bordars with 10 ploughs. There is one serf and a fishery worth 6 shillings and 8 pence; and 40 acres of meadow and woodland yielding 50 swine for pannage dues. Other woodland is placed in enclosure. There are besides 100 closes in the vill. Of these 26 are exempt from rent payment. From the others come 30 shillings. Of the land of this manor Albert the clerk holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and the third part of a coppice and as much woodland as renders 5 swine as dues for pannage. Gilbert Maminot holds three virgates, William 8 hides, Aluric 1 hide, another Aluric half a hide and the priest of the vill $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and two sergeants of the King's court half a hide, Eudo Dapifer 2 hides. T.R.E. it was worth 15 pounds; afterwards 7 pounds; now 15 pounds.

(2) (In Carlton Hundred.) The king holds Wargrave in demesne. Queen Eddid held it. It was then assessed at 33 hides; now it is assessed at nothing. There is land for 29 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and there are 41 villeins and 14 bordars with 25 ploughs. There are 6 serfs and a mill worth 9 shillings and 2 pence and 3 fisheries to render 3000 eels and 16 acres of meadow, and woodland to render 100 swine. T.R.E. it was worth 31 pounds; and afterwards, as now, 27 pounds and 6 shillings and 8 pence.

35. (3) (In Wantage Hundred.) The Abbot of St. Alban holds West Henderd. Nigel de Albengi gave it to that church. Three thegns held it T.R.E. and could go to what lord they pleased. It was then assessed at 10 hides, it is now assessed at 4. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and there are 3 villeins and 3 cottars with 1 plough and there are 45 acres of meadow. Of his land Ernuzon holds 2 hides of the abbot and there he has 1 plough and 4 cottars. A church is there and 5 acres of meadow. The whole T.R.E. and afterwards was worth 10 pounds. Now likewise the whole is worth 10 pounds.

(4) (In Thatcham Hundred.) Bernard the falconer holds Waring of the king. Alwin held it of King Edward in alod. It was then assessed at 1 hide; it is now assessed at half a hide. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs and there are 5 villeins and 1 bordar with 2 ploughs; also 1 serf and mill worth 16 shillings. It is and was worth 3 pounds.

(5) (In Meonstoke Hundred.) William de Perci holds Hambleden. He received it with his wife. Alwin held it of King Edward. It was then as now assessed at 8 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 plough and there are 6 villeins and 6 bordars with 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs and a mill worth 12 pence. There is woodland worth 4 swine. T.R.E. it was, as now, worth 4 pounds; when received it was worth 3 pounds.

(6) (In Basingstoke Hundred.) Geofirey, chamberlain to the king's daughter, holds Hatch Warren of the king. Alsi held it T.R.E. It was then assessed at 1 hide; now at 3 virgates. There is land for 3 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs and there are 2 villeins with 1 plough. There are a church and 11 serfs. T.R.E. it was worth 100 shillings, was afterwards, as now, worth 4 pounds. Odo de Wincestre claims this hide and says that he had it in mortgage for 10 pounds from Alsi, with the permission of King William, and that he is therefore deprived of it unjustly. But Geoffrey holds it of the king for the service he performed to his daughter Matilda.

35. (7) (In Bishop's Sutton Hundred.) Edwin holds Oakhanger and says that he bought it of King William ; but the jury of the shire knows nothing of this. Alwi held it of King Edward and Richard now holds it of Edwin. T.R.E. it was assessed at 1 hide and 8 virgates. There is land for 4 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs and there are 8 villeins and 6 bordars with 3 ploughs and 2 serfs and 2 acres of meadow. T.R.E. and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings ; it is now worth 60 shillings. Of this manor the king's reeve claims half a hide for pasture for the king's oxen ; but (the jury of) the shire testifies that he cannot have pasture or pannage in the king's wood as he claims except by authority of the sheriff.

(8) (In Bermondspitt Hundred.) Edwin the priest holds 8 virgates in Candover of the king. The same Edwin held it of King Edward as an alod. There is land for half a plough and yet there is 1 plough in the demesne. It is worth 5 shillings.

(9) (In Boore Hundred.) Cheping held 3 virgates of the king in Oakley and was assessed at that amount. It is now in the forest. It was worth 40 shillings. Wislac held 8 hide of the king in Boldreford. It is now in the forest, except 2 acres of meadow which Hugh of St. Quentin holds. It is worth 10 pounds (*sic*).

(10) Aluric had half a hide in Pilley in Boldre ; and it was assessed at that amount. It is now in the forest except 3 acres of meadow which the same Aluric holds. There was land for two ploughs ; it was worth 5 shillings.

(11) (Hundred of Barnstaple in Essex.) Ramsden is held of the Bishop of Bayeux by 2 knights and was held as 3 hides by 2 free men, and according to the English jurors Ravengar took away the land from one of them and Robert Fitz Wimarc the land from the other and now they know not how it came to the bishop. These men had then 2 ploughs ; now there is no plough there. Then 5 bordars ; now 7. There is half a hide of woodland and pasture for 100 sheep. It was then worth 3 pounds ; now 4.

From Maitland, "Domesday Book and Beyond."

35. (12) D.B. I. 34 (A manor in Sussex.) In demesne there are 5 teams and there are 25 villeins and 6 bordars with 14 teams. There is one mill of 2 shillings and one fishery and one church and 4 acres of meadow and wood for 150 pannage pigs, and 2 stone quarries of 2 shillings and 2 nests of hawks in the wood and 10 serfs.

(13) D.B. I. 132b (A manor in Hertfordshire). There are 6 teams in demesne and 41 villeins and 17 bordars have 20 teams. There are 22 cottars and 12 serfs.

(14) D.B. I. 132b. The priest 13 villeins and 4 bordars have 6 teams . . . there are 2 cottars and 4 serfs.

(15) D.B. I. 136. The priests and 24 villeins have 13 teams . . . there are 12 bordars, 86 cottars and 11 serfs.

(16) D.B. II. 1. In this manor there was at that time a freeman with half a hide who has now been made one of the villeins.

(17) D.B. I. 180b. Five thegns held this land of Earl Edwin and could go with their land whither they could, and below them they had four soldiers who are as free as themselves.

(18) D.B. I. 172 (Worcestershire). When the king goes on a military expedition if any one who is summoned stays at home then, if he is so free a man that he has his sake and soke and can go whither he pleases, he with all his land shall be in the king's mercy.

(19) D.B. I. 30. Richard of Tonbridge holds in this manor one virgate with wood from which he has taken away the countryman who dwelt there.

(20) D.B. I. 32. The men of Southwark testify that in King Edward's time no one took toll on the strand or in the water-street save the king, and if any one in the act of committing an offence was there challenged he paid the amends to the king, but if without being challenged he escaped under a man who had sake and soke, that man had the amends.

86. Speech of Anselm at the Meeting at Rockingham Castle.

Eadmer, "Hist. Nov." Latin, *contemporary*. From Rigg, "St. Anselm of Canterbury," p. 12.
1095.

My Brothers,—Hearken, I pray you, and lend, as far as in you lies, the aid of your good counsel to the matter for the discussion of which you are here assembled. Between our lord and me certain words have passed which seem to engender discord among us. For when of late, according to the custom of my predecessors, I craved of him permission to resort to Urban, Bishop of the Apostolic See, to receive from him my pallium, he replied that he had not as yet acknowledged Urban as Pope, and, therefore, would not suffer me to have recourse to him for that purpose. "Furthermore," he said, "if in my realm you acknowledge as Pope, or treat as so recognised either that same Urban or any one else, without my recognition and authorisation, you act in breach of the allegiance which you owe to me and wrong me no less than if you were to take away my crown. Know, therefore, that you shall have neither part nor lot in my realm unless you give me the most unequivocal assurances that you will renounce, as I require you, all submission to the authority of this Urban." Which hearing, I was lost in wonder. I was, as you know, an abbot in another realm, leading, by the grace of God, a life without reproach in the sight of all men. It was neither hope nor desire of episcopal office that brought me hither, but certain just obligations which I could by no means ignore. When the king fell ill, all ye, who were then about him, urged him, before his death, to provide, by the institution of an archbishop, for the well-being of the Church of Canterbury; and in brief, the king approved your counsel, and concurred with you in electing me to the office. I made several excuses, desiring to escape the responsibilities of the primacy, but ye would not have it so. Among other pleas I urged this, that I had already acknowledged Urban as the successor of the Apostles, and that, so long as I lived, I would not depart for a single hour from my allegiance to him. To all this you had none of you a word to object. Your reply was to seize

me by force and thrust upon me the common burden. Now then is the time, now the occasion, for you to lighten my burden by your counsel. For to the end that I might have your counsel, when these words of which I have spoken passed between our lord the king and me, I craved an adjournment to the present day, that, meeting together, you might, by your collective wisdom, examine this matter, whether I am able, without trenching upon my allegiance to the king, to maintain intact my submission to the Holy See.

[On the morrow the bishops refused to carry his words to the king: in the evening he received the king's command to surrender, backed by advice from the bishops to renounce his obedience to Urban. Next day Anselm said to them:]

I understand you. In withdrawing from me all the obedience, fealty and friendship which you owe me as a spiritual father, because I am determined to maintain inviolate the obedience and fealty which I owe to Blessed Peter, you do ill. But God forbid that I should return you evil for evil. On the contrary . . . I shall do my utmost . . . to reclaim you from the error into which fear has led you. . . . As for the king, who deprives me of the protection of the law within the realm, and refuses any longer to recognise me as his archbishop and spiritual father, I promise to God to give his laws all possible support and to render to himself every service that is in my power.

37. Order for the Holding of the Courts of the Hundred and the Shire. Henry I.

Trans. from Latin of "Fœdera," i. 12, quoted by Stubbs,
1108. "Select Charters," 8th ed., p. 104.

Henry, King of the English, to Bishop Samson and to Urso of Abetot and all his barons, French and English, greeting. Know that I grant and ordain that my shire courts and hundred courts shall sit in those places and at those times as they sat in the time of King Edward and not otherwise. For I, when I choose, shall have them summoned at my will on account of my royal necessities. And if there arise any suit about the division of lands, if it is between barons who

are my tenants in demesne, it shall be tried in my own court; and if it is between the men of two lords it shall be dealt with in the shire court. This shall be done by battle unless it be determined by their lords. And I will and ordain that all the people in the shire go to the shire court and the hundred as they did in the time of King Edward, and that those who do not attend my pleas and my courts as they used to at that time do not for any reason interfere with my peace and tranquillity.

38. Adulterine Castles in the Reign of Stephen.

1135–1154. Saxon Chronicle. Translated by J. A. Giles.

When King Stephen came to England, he held an assembly at Oxford; and there he seized Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and Roger the chancellor, his nephew, and he kept them all in prison till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and a soft and a good, and that he did not enforce justice, they did all wonder. They had done homage to him and sworn oaths, but they no faith kept; all became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. They hung some up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke; some by their thumbs, or by the head, and they hung burning things on their feet. They put a knotted string about their heads, and twisted it till it went into the brain. They put them into dungeons wherein were adders and snakes and toads, and thus wore them out. Some they put into a crucet-house—that is, into a chest that was short and narrow, and not deep—and they put sharp stones in it, and crushed the man therein so that they broke all his

limbs. There were hateful and grim things called rachenteges in many of the castles, and which two or three men had enough to do to carry. The rachentege was made thus: it was fastened to a beam, having a sharp iron to go around a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but that he must bear all the iron. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot and I may not tell of all the wounds and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse.

39. Description of Henry the Second.

Peter of Blois, *Epistolæ* (edited by Giles, Oxford, 1847), i. 50, 51, 193–195. Latin, *contemporary*.

If the king has promised to spend the day anywhere, especially if a herald had publicly proclaimed that such is his royal will, you may be sure that he will start off early in the morning and by his sudden change of mind will throw everybody's plans into confusion. You may see men running about as if they were mad, urging on the pack-horses, driving chariots one into another, and everything in a state of confusion. The tumult is such as to give you a vivid picture of the infernal regions. But if the king declares his intention of going to a certain place early the next morning, he will undoubtedly change his mind, and you may be sure that he will sleep till midday. You will see the pack-horses waiting under their loads, the chariots standing ready, the couriers falling asleep, the purveyors uneasy, and everybody grumbling. . . .

After the weariness of long uncertainty we would have the comfort of learning that we were to stay in a place where there was prospect of food and lodging. Then there would be such confusion and running about of footmen and horsemen that you would think the infernal regions had broken open. But when our couriers had already gone the whole day's journey, or almost the whole, the king would change his mind and turn aside to some other place, where perhaps he

had only one house and provisions enough for himself, but not enough to share: and I believe, if I dared to say it, that his pleasure was increased by the straits to which we were put. After wandering about three or four miles through an unknown forest and frequently in the dark, we would think our prayers were answered if we found by chance some mean, filthy hut. There was often fierce and bitter contention over these hovels, and courtiers fought with drawn swords for a lodging that it would have been disgraceful for pigs to fight for. I sometimes became separated from my own people and could hardly get them together again in three days. O God almighty, thou art king of kings and lord of lords, who art terrible to the kings of the earth, who dost take away the breath of princes and dost give health to kings, in thy power is the heart of the king to turn whithersoever thou dost will. Turn and convert the heart of this king from this unwholesome manner of life, that he may know that he is a man, and may learn to show royal grace and consideration and human compassion to the men who are drawn after him not by ambition but by necessity. . . .

You ask me to send you an accurate description of the appearance and character of the King of England. That surpasses my powers, for the genius of a Vergil would hardly be equal to it. That which I know, however, I will ungrudingly share with you. Concerning David we read that it was said of him, as evidence for his beauty, that he was ruddy. You may know then that our king is still ruddy, except as old age and whitening hair have changed his colour a little. He is of medium stature so that among small men he does not seem large, nor yet among large men does he seem small. His head is spherical, as if the abode of great wisdom and the special sanctuary of lofty intelligence. The size of his head is in proportion to the neck and the whole body. His eyes are full, guileless and dove-like when he is at peace, gleaming like fire when his temper is aroused, and in bursts of passion they flash like lightning. As to his hair he is in no danger of baldness, but his head has been closely shaved. He has a broad, square, lion-like face. His feet are arched and he has the legs of a horseman. His broad chest and muscular arms

show him to be a strong, bold, active man. His hands show by their coarseness that he is careless and pays little attention to his person, for he never wears gloves except when he goes hawking. . . . Although his legs are bruised and livid from hard riding, he never sits down except when on horseback or at meals. On a single day, if necessary, he travels a journey of four or five days, and thus anticipating the plans of his enemies he baffles their devices by his sudden movements. . . . He is a passionate lover of the woods, and when not engaged in war he exercises with birds and dogs. . . . He does not loiter in his palace like other kings, but hurrying through the provinces he investigates what is being done everywhere, and is specially strict in his judgment of those whom he has appointed as judges of others. There is no one keener in counsel, of more fluent eloquence, no one who has less anxiety in danger or more in prosperity, or who is more courageous in adversity. If he has once loved any one, he rarely ceases to love him, while one for whom he has once taken a dislike he seldom admits to his favour. He always has his weapons in his hands when not engaged in consultation or at his books. When his cares and anxieties allow him to breathe he occupies himself with reading, or in a circle of clerks tries to solve some knotty question. . . .

40. Another View of Henry II.

Ralph Niger (ed. Anstruther), pp. 167–169, Latin, *contemporary;* Stubbs, "Const. History," i. 531.

When he came to the throne he appointed slaves, bastards, and vagabonds to the chief offices in his kingdom. Illustrious men who were accused of crimes of a moral character but were otherwise irreproachable he deprived entirely of their estates or annihilated them by gradually stealing bits of their property. He made bishops and abbots of the servants of his household or of the jesters at court. He made an unheard-of law about the forests, by which those who had committed no other breach of law suffered perpetual punishment. He prevented men of high position from marrying or giving in marriage without his leave, and those who transgressed he

punished as traitors. . . . He kept for his own use or sold other people's inheritances. In deciding to which courts cases should go he showed a pettifogging spirit, and even sold decisions.

41. The Case of Philip de Brois.

Edw. Grim. Robertson, "Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket," i. p. 374.

1163.

A new method of attacking a clerk, named Philip of Brois, was resorted to by the resuscitation of a mode of procedure long obsolete. He had been charged with the murder of a certain knight, but when the case had been heard in the audience of the Bishop of Lincoln he was acquitted by the law of the Church, and, the matter ended, he was hailed as free by his kinsfolk. Later on, however, one of the king's officers to whom that duty was assigned, wishing, from an ancient grudge he bore him, that the clerk should be ruined, brought forward the case again, and renewed the charge of murder. But the clerk, being a man of good birth, overwhelmed with grief and indignation, assailed the sheriff with abuse. The sheriff reported this abusive language to the king, who, glad (as it was thought) to have an occasion of venting his wrath on a clerk, poured upon Philip the anger that he had conceived. When the clerk's case was raised in the presence of the archbishop, the king protested that full justice should be done both about the murder and about the insult, and that the acquittal would not stand. But the archbishop received the clerk into his court under shelter of the Church that he might there defend himself and reply to the charge. Bishops and others of either order were accordingly sent by the king to judge the clerk. He denied the charge of murder, asserting that he ought not to be forced to make any further answer to it, and that it was illegal to try a case over again, a case which had been ended by a solemn acquittal and which the peace he had made with his opponents had buried. "I admit," he said, "that in the bitterness of my heart I insulted the king's officer, but I promise a full recompense for my misdeeds; yet let not the punishment exceed the reasonable limits." "And we decree," said they, "that your

prebend remain under the king's hand for two years, and that your possessions and all your revenues be distributed according to his wish to the poor." They added that he was to stand naked before the king's official, just as if he were a layman, and offer him his arms for the wrong he had done him and live in subjection to him. The clerk obeyed the sentence, glad to have escaped the sentence of death which the king threatened. The king, on the contrary, wishing to condemn the man to death, maintained that a wrong had been done to himself and to the prejudice of his court. He exclaimed that the bishops had shown favour to the person because of the archbishop, and had not judged according to right, and he added, "By the eyes of God, you shall swear to me that you judged justly and did not spare the man because he was a clerk."

42. Constitutions of Clarendon.

1184. Stubbs, "Select Charters," p. 138.

I. Concerning the advowson and presentation of livings, if a dispute shall arise between laymen, or between laymen and clerks, or between clerks, let the case be tried and settled in the king's court.

II. Churches in the fee of our lord the king may not be granted in perpetuity without his assent and approval.

III. Clerks charged and cited concerning any matter, having been summoned by the king's justiciar, shall come into his court to answer there to the charge if it shall seem fitting to the king's court that it be answered there, and in the Church court if it seem good that it be answered there, so that the king's justiciar shall send into the court of Holy Church to see in what manner the suit be therein conducted. And if the clerk shall be convicted or shall confess the Church should no longer protect him.

IV. Archbishops, bishops, and beneficed clerks may not leave the kingdom without the permission of the lord king. If they quit the kingdom, if the lord king pleases, they shall give surety that neither in going nor in sojourning nor in returning will they cause ill or hurt to king or kingdom.

V. Excommunicate persons ought not to give surety for

the future, nor to take oath, but only sufficient surety and pledge to abide the judgment of the Church that they may be acquitted.

VI. Laymen ought not to be charged save by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in the presence of the bishop, provided that the archdeacon lose not his right nor aught thereunto pertaining. And if the criminals be such that no one will or dare accuse them, the sheriff being requested by the bishop shall make to swear twelve lawful men of the neighbourhood or township, before the bishop, that therein they will set forth the truth according to their conscience.

VII. No one who holds of the king in chief nor any of his servants shall be excommunicated, nor shall the estates of any of them be put under interdict unless the lord king, if he be in the country, or his justiciar, if he be abroad, be first notified that he may do justice on him: and so that what concerns the king's courts shall be there settled, and what belongs to the Church court shall be sent thereto that it may be tried there.

VIII. As to appeals that may arise, they ought to go from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop. And if the archbishop shall fail in doing justice, resort should be had finally to the king, so that by his order the case be concluded in the archbishop's court: so that it should go no further without the king's approval.

IX. If an action arise between a clerk and a layman, or between a layman and a clerk, concerning any holding which the clerk wishes to attach to the church property, and the layman to the lay fief, it shall be settled by the inquest of twelve lawful men before the king's chief justiciar, whether the holding belong to ecclesiastical or lay tenure, in the presence of the above-mentioned justiciar. And if it be decided that it belongs to ecclesiastical tenure the case shall be tried in the Church court; but if to lay tenure (unless the suitors both hold of the same bishop or baron) it shall be tried in the king's court: so that on account of the inquest made he shall not lose seisin who was seised of it until it be settled by plea.

X. If any one residing in a city or castle or town or manor

of the king, being summoned by the archdeacon or bishop for any crime for which he is bound to answer, will not, at their citations, give satisfaction, it shall be lawful to put him under interdict, but not to excommunicate him until the chief officer of the king in his township be informed, in order that he may force him to give satisfaction. And if the king's officer shall be found wanting he himself shall be at the king's mercy, and then shall the bishop be able to coerce the accused by the law of the Church.

XI. Archbishops, bishops, and all beneficed clergy of the kingdom who hold of the king in chief have their possessions of the lord king as a barony, and be responsible therefor to the justices and ministers of the king, and follow and do all royal privileges and customs, and like other barons ought to be present at the judgment of the king's court, with the barons, till there shall come into judgment matter concerning mutilation or death.

XII. When an archbishopric shall be vacant, or a bishopric, or abbacy, or priory of the king's demesne, it shall be in his hand and he shall take all incomings and outgoings as his own. And when a consultation is held to fill the vacancy the lord king shall grant a commission to the more important persons of the Church, and the election shall be in the chapel of the lord king by assent of the lord king and counsel of those persons of the realm whom he shall have called for the purpose. And there shall the person elected do homage to the lord king as his liege lord, in his life and limbs and earthly honour, with due regard to order, before he be consecrated.

XIII. If any one of the lords of the realm shall have failed to show justice, either concerning himself or his men, to archbishop or bishop or archdeacon, the king our lord ought to bring him to justice. And if perchance any one shall have neglected his duty to the lord king, the archbishops and bishops and archdeacons ought to bring him to court so that he may make satisfaction to the king.

XV. Pleas concerning debts which are due with or without pledges being given are in the king's justice.

XVI. Sons of villeins ought not to be ordained without the approval of the lord on whose land they were born.

43. The Empress Matilda's Opinion of the Contest.

Letter of Nicolas, Master of the Hospital of Mont St. Jacques, near Rouen, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Materials," v. p. 145.

Christmas 1164.

On our return to the empress we recounted to her again all your instructions. We repeated the Constitutions from memory, because Master H. had lost the documents. We added, too, that some of the Constitutions were contrary to Christian Faith, and nearly all to the liberty of the Church; wherefore her son ought to fear damnation in eternity as well as in time. Then she enjoined us to send to you for a copy of the Constitutions. By God's will our documents were found that day, and on the following day she ejected every one from her chamber, and ordered us to read them in Latin and explain in French. The woman is of the race of the tyrants, and some she commended—for example, that forbidding to excommunicate the justices and servants of the king without his permission. Nevertheless I refused to set forth the others before I had first discussed this, quoting the words of the Gospel where it is said to Peter, "Tell it to the Church," not "Tell it to the king," and many other things. Of the greater number of the articles she disapproved. What annoyed her most was that they were reduced to writing, and that the bishops were forced to take a promise to preserve them, for this had never been done before. After many words, when I inquired urgently of her what might be the first means of making peace, we suggested this to her and she consented. If it should happen that the king send to seek advice from his mother and other reasonable persons they shall thus compromise the matter: that the ancient customs of the kingdom shall be adhered to without promise or writing, and that with such moderation that neither shall the secular judges take away the liberty of the Church nor the bishops abuse it. You must know that our lady empress is a clever defender of her son, excusing him at one time by this zeal for justice, at another by the malice of the bishops; and she shows great judgment and reason in detecting the origin of the misfortunes of the Church. For she said some things in which we praised and

supported her views. The bishops indiscreetly ordain clerks who are without claims to any churches, whereby it comes to pass that a number of ordained persons, through poverty and idleness, fall into vicious habits. For he does not fear deposition who has no claim to a church. He does not fear punishment because the Church will defend him, nor does he dread the bishop's prison, since bishops would rather that crime should go unpunished than be at the pains of doing their duty as pastors and keeping him in prison. The ordination of persons without claims is forbidden by the Council of Chalcedon, one of the four whose decrees the blessed Gregory loved like the four books of the Evangelist, as also many other canons. And further, a single clerk often holds four or seven churches or prebends, when the sacred canons everywhere clearly forbid that even two should be assigned to one clerk.

44. Assize of Clarendon.

1166. Stubbs, "Select Charters," p. 140.

1. In the first place the above-mentioned King Henry, by the counsel of all his barons, for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice, has decreed that an inquiry shall be made throughout the several counties, and throughout the several hundreds, through twelve of the more lawful men of the hundred, upon oath that they will speak the truth: whether in their hundred or in their township there be any man who since the accession of our lord the king has been charged or proclaimed as being a robber or murderer or thief; or any one who is a receiver of robbers or murderers or thieves. And the justices shall make this inquiry by themselves and the sheriffs by themselves.

2. And he who shall be found through the oath of the above-mentioned persons to have been charged or proclaimed as being a robber or murderer or thief, or a receiver of them, since the accession of our lord the king shall be taken and shall go to the ordeal of water and shall swear that he was not a robber or murderer or thief or harbourer of them since the lord king has been king, to the extent of five shillings to the best of his knowledge.

4. And when a robber or murderer or thief, or receivers of them, shall be taken on the above-mentioned oath, if the justices shall not be about to come quickly enough into that county where they have been captured, the sheriffs shall send word to the nearest justice through some man of good sense that they have captured such men; and the justices shall send back word to the sheriffs where they wish those men to be brought before them: and the sheriffs shall bring them before the justices. And with them they shall bring from the hundred or township where they were taken two lawful men to give testimony on the part of the county or hundred as to why they were taken; and there before the justice they shall do their law.

5. And in the case of those who shall be captured on the above-mentioned oath of this assize, no one shall have court or jurisdiction or chattels save the king himself in his own court, before his own justices; and the lord king shall have all their chattels. As concerns those who shall be taken otherwise than through this oath, let it be as it ordinarily is and ought to be.

7. And in the several counties where there are no prisons, such shall be made in the burgh or in some castle of the king from the money of the king and from his woods if they be near, or from some other adjacent woods, by view of the servants of the king; for the purpose that the sheriffs may keep in them those who shall be taken by the ministers who are accustomed to do this, and through their servants.

14. The lord king wishes also that those who shall be tried and shall be acquitted by the law, if they be of very bad testimony and are publicly and disgracefully miscalled by the testimony of many and lawful men, shall forswear the lands of the king, so that within eight days they shall cross the sea unless the wind detains them; and with the first wind that they shall have afterwards they shall cross the sea, and they shall not return any more to England unless by the indulgence of the lord king: and there and if they return let them be outlawed; and if they return let them be arrested as outlaws.

45. Thomas to the King.

About May 1166. "Materials," v. p. 278.

The words of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King of the English.

With great longing I have desired to see your countenance and to speak with you; greatly for the sake of myself, but more for your own. For my sake, that when you saw my face you might recollect the services which, when I was under your obedience, I rendered zealously and faithfully according to my conscience, and that so you might be moved to pity me, who am forced to beg my bread among strangers; yet, praise God, I have no lack. And I have much consolation in the words of the apostle, "All who live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution," and the prophet, "I have never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread." For your sake for three reasons: because you are my lord, because you are my king, and because you are my spiritual son. In that you are my lord I owe and proffer to you my advice and service, such as a bishop owes to his lord according to the honour of God and holy Church. And in that you are my king I am bound to you in respect and regard. In that you are my son I am bound on account of my post to chasten and correct you. . . .

The Church of God consists of two orders, clergy and people. Among the clergy are apostles, apostolic men, bishops, and other doctors of the Church, to whom is committed the care and control of the Church, who have to manage the business of the Church, that the whole may redound to the saving of souls. Whence also it was said to Peter, and in Peter to the other rulers of the Church, not to kings nor to princes, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Among the people are kings, princes, dukes, earls, and other powers, who perform secular business, that the whole may tend to the harmony and unity of the Church. And since it is certain that kings receive their power from the Church, not the Church from them but from Christ, so, with all due respect

to you, you have not the power to give rules to bishops, nor to acquit or excommunicate any one, to draw clerks before secular courts, to judge concerning churches and tithes, to forbid bishops to adjudge causes concerning pledge-breaking or perjury, and many other things of this sort which are written among your customs which you call ancient. Let my lord, therefore, if it please him, listen to the advice of his subject, to the warnings of his bishop, and to the correction of his father. And first let him for the future abstain from all traffic with schismatics. It is known almost to the whole world with what devotion you formerly welcomed our lord the Pope and what love you showed to the Church of Rome, and also what honour and regard were shown you in return. Abstain then, my lord, if you regard your soul's safety, from robbing the Church of her rights. Remember also the promise which you made, and which you placed in writing on the altar at Westminster when you were consecrated and anointed king by my predecessor, of preserving the Church's liberty. Restore, therefore, to the Church of Canterbury, from which you received your advancement and consecration, the dignity which it held in the time of your predecessors and mine; together with all its possessions, townships, castles and farms, and whatsoever else has been taken forcibly either from myself or my servants, laymen as well as clerks. And further, if so please, allow us a safe and peaceful return to our see, to perform the duties of our office as we ought. And we are ready faithfully and devotedly with all our strength to serve you as our dearest lord and king with due regard to the honour of God and of the Roman Church, and our order. Otherwise, be assured that you shall feel the Divine severity and vengeance.

46. The Murder of the Archbishop.

December 29, 1170. Edward Grim, "Materials," ii. 430.

Therefore the above mentioned, no knights but miserable wretches, as soon as they landed, called on the servants of the king, whom the archbishop had excommunicated, and by falsely declaring that they were following the king's com-

mands and in his name they collected a band of followers. They then assembled in a body, ready for any deed of wickedness, and on the fifth day after Christ's Birth, that is, on the day after the festival of the Holy Innocents, gathered together against the innocent. The hour of dinner having passed, the saint had departed with some of his servants from the crowd into an inner room, to transact some business, leaving a crowd waiting in the hall outside. The four knights with one attendant entered. They were honourably treated as the servants of the king and as men of note; and those who had waited on the archbishop, being now themselves at dinner, invited them to table. They spurned the food, thirsting rather for blood. By their order the archbishop was informed of the presence of four men who wished to speak with him from the king. He consented and they entered. They sat for a long time without a word and did not salute the archbishop nor address him. Nor did the man of good understanding salute them immediately they came in, that in the words of Holy Writ, "By thy words thou shalt be justified," he might discover their intentions from their questions. After awhile, however, he turned to them, and carefully scanning the face of each one he greeted them with words of peace, but the wretches, who had made a bond with death, answered his greeting with revilings and in mockery prayed that God might help him. At this speech of bitterness and malice the man of God blushed red, now seeing that they had come to do him harm. Whereupon FitzUrse, who seemed to be the chief and the most eager for crime among them, breathing fury, burst out with these words, "We have somewhat to say to thee by the king's command: say if thou wilt that we tell it here before the crowd." But the archbishop knew what they were going to say, and replied, "These things should not be spoken in private or in the chamber, but in public." Now these wretches were so inflamed with desire to slay the archbishop that if the doorkeeper had not called back the clerks—for the archbishop had ordered them all to go out—they would have stabbed him, as they afterwards confessed, with the shaft of his cross which stood by. When those who had gone out returned, he, who had before thus abused the archbishop

said, "The king, when peace was concluded between you and all quarrels were settled, sent you back free to your own see, as you demanded: but you, on the other hand, adding insult to your former injuries, have violated the terms and done wrong of yourself against your lord. For those by whose ministry the king's son was crowned and invested with the dignity of a king, you, with obstinate pride, have condemned by sentence of suspension, and you have also bound with the chain of a curse those servants of the king by whose wise advice the business of the kingdom is transacted: from which it is clear that you would take away the crown from the king's son if you were able. Now your plots and the schemes you have laid to accomplish your plans against the king are known to all. Say, therefore, are you ready to answer in the king's presence for these things? for such is our errand." To whom answered the archbishop, "It was no desire of mine, God is my witness, to take away the crown from my lord the king's son, or impair his power; rather would I wish him three crowns, and would aid him to win the mightiest of the earth with right and equity. But it is not meet for my lord the king to take offence because my people accompany me through the cities and towns, and come out to meet me, when they have for seven years been robbed of my consoling presence; and even now I am ready to satisfy him wherever my lord pleases, if in aught I have sinned; but he has forbade me with threats to enter any of his cities and towns, or even villages."

"Now," said these butchers, "this is the king's order, that you quit with all your men the kingdom, and the land which lies under his sway: for henceforth can there be no peace with you, or any of yours, for you have violated the peace." Then said he, "I trust in the King of heaven, who for His own suffered on the Cross: for from this day no one shall see the sea between me and my church. I came not to fly; here he who wants me shall find me. And it ill becomes the king so to command; sufficient are the taunts which I and mine have received from the king's servants." "Thus did the king command," they replied, "and we will make it good." At these words Christ's champion, rising with burning spirit against his accusers, exclaimed, "Whoso shall dare to outrage

the decrees of the sacred Roman see or the laws of Christ's Church, and shall refuse to make satisfaction, whosoever he be, to him I will show no mercy nor will I delay to inflict the correction of the Church on the sinners."

Astounded at these words, the knights sprang up, for they could bear his firmness no longer, and coming close to him they said, "We declare to you that you have spoken at the risk of your life." "Do you come to kill me?" he answered. "I have entrusted my cause to the Judge of all; wherefore I am not moved by threats, nor are your swords more ready to strike than is my soul for martyrdom. Seek him who flees from you; me you will find foot to foot in the battle of the Lord." As they went out with loud din and revilings, he who was well called Ursus called out in brutal sort, "In the king's name we order you, both clerk and monk, that ye take and hold that man, lest he escape by flight ere the king have full justice on his body." As they departed so saying, the man of God followed them to the door and exclaimed, "Here, here shall ye find me"; putting his hand over his neck as though pointing out the place where they were to strike.

He returned then to the place where he had sat before, and comforted his clerks, and urged them to be not afraid; and, as it seemed to us who were present, waited as calm and cool —though him alone did they seek to slay—as though they had come to invite him to a marriage. Ere long back came the butchers with swords and axes and falchions and other weapons meet for the crime which they had conceived. When they found the doors bolted and they were not opened to their knocking, they turned aside by a private way through the orchard to a wooden partition which they cut and hacked till they broke it down. At this dreadful din were the servants and clerks dreadfully affrighted, and, like sheep before the wolf, scattered hither and thither. Those who remained called out that he should flee to the church, but he did not forget his promise not to flee from his murderers through fear of death, and refused to go. But the monks eagerly urged him, declaring that it were not fit he were absent from vespers, which were at that moment being celebrated. But when he

would not be persuaded by reasoning or prayer to take refuge in the church the monks laid hands on him in spite of his resistance, and pulled, dragged, and pushed him, not heeding his shouts to be let go, and brought him to the church.

When the monks had entered the church, already the four knights followed behind with all haste. With them was a certain subdeacon, armed with malice like the knights, Hugh, well called for his wickedness Mauclerc, who showed no reverence for God or the saints, as the result proved. When the holy archbishop entered the church, the monks stopped vespers, which they had begun, and ran to him, praising God that they saw their father, whom they had heard was dead, alive and safe. They hastened, by barring the doors of the church, to prevent their enemies from killing their shepherd

But the champion, turning to them, ordered the church doors to be thrown open, saying, "It is not meet to make a fortress of the house of prayer, the church of Christ: though it be not shut up it is able to protect its own; and we shall triumph over the enemy rather in suffering than in fighting, for we came to suffer, not to resist." And forthwith they entered the house of peace and reconciliation with swords sacrilegiously drawn, causing horror to the beholders by their very aspect and the clanging of their arms.

Inspired by fury, the knights called out, "Where is Thomas Becket, traitor to the king and realm?" As he gave no reply they cried out the more peremptorily, "Where is the archbishop?" At this, without a fear, he descended from the stair where he had been dragged by the monks in fear of the knights, and in a clear voice answered, "Lo, here am I, no traitor to the king, but a priest. Why do ye seek me?" Then they laid impious hands on him, pulling and dragging him that they might kill him outside the church, or carry him away in bonds, as they afterwards confessed. But when he could not be forced away from the column one of them pressed on him and clung to him more closely. Him he repulsed, calling him "pander," and saying, "Touch me not, Reginald; you owe me faith and allegiance; you and your accomplices act like madmen." The knight, all aflame with fury at this severe repulse, waved his sword over the sacred head. "No

faith," he cried, "nor allegiance do I owe you against my fealty to my lord the king." Then the unconquered martyr, seeing the hour nigh which should put an end to this miserable life and give him straightway the crown of immortality promised by the Lord, bent his neck as in prayer, and joining his hands, he lifted them up, and commended his cause and that of the Church to God, to St. Mary, and to the blessed martyr Denys. Scarce had he said the words than the wicked knight, fearing lest he should be rescued by the people and escape alive, leapt upon him suddenly and wounded this lamb, who was consecrated to God, on the head, and by the same blow he wounded the arm of the teller of the tale. For he, when the others, both monks and clerks, fled, stuck close to the sainted archbishop and held him in his arms till the one he interposed was almost cut off. Then the saint received a second blow on the head, but still stood staunch. At the third blow he fell on his knees and elbows, offering himself a living victim, and saying in a whisper, "For the Name of Jesus and the protection of the Church I am ready to embrace death." Then the third knight dealt a terrible wound as he lay, by which the sword was shattered against the pavement. The fourth knight prevented all intervention so that the others might freely commit the murder. As to the fifth, no knight, but that clerk who had entered with the knights, that the martyr might not lack a fifth blow, he who was in other things like to Christ, he put his foot on the neck of the holy priest and precious martyr, and, horrible to say, strewed his brains and blood over the pavement, calling out to the others, "Let us be off, knights; he will rise no more."

47. The King's Submission.

May 1172. "Materials," vii. 513. Dr. Giles's translation.

After this the cardinals held a secret council with the bishop of Lisieux, the archdeacon of Poitiers, and the archdeacon of Salisbury, and through them the king and cardinals again met at Avranches on the following Friday. His majesty then heard all their proposals, and assented with great courtesy to all their suggestions. But he wished his son to be present

and join in the terms to be arranged, for which cause the meeting was again postponed to the following Sunday. On that day the king, laying his hand on the Gospels, swore that he had never commanded nor wished that the archbishop of Canterbury should be slain, and that when he heard of it, he rather grieved than rejoiced. He added also voluntarily that he grieved more than he did for the death of his father or mother, and swore that he would perform to the full whatever penance or satisfaction the cardinals should demand of him. For he admitted before all that he had been the cause of the archbishop's death, which had taken place entirely through him; not that such were his orders, but that his friends and attendants, seeing the distress in his countenance and the flashing of his eye, judged how his mind was disturbed within him, and when they heard his querulous words about the archbishop, they prepared for vengeance, for which cause he would now do all that the legates required of him. Upon this the legates signified to him that he was to provide two hundred knights at his own charges, and maintain them for a year at the rate of three hundred pieces a man to fight against the unbelievers in the Holy Land, at the disposal of the Templars.

Secondly, to annul the unlawful statutes of Clarendon, and all other bad customs which had been introduced into the Church during his reign; and to allow all such bad customs as had been introduced before his own reign to be modified by the authority of the Pope and a council of religious men.

Thirdly, to make full recompense to the church of Canterbury, both of its goods and estates, in the same state as they existed the year before the archbishop incurred the king's anger; and to replace all others who had been in disgrace for supporting the archbishop, and take them again into his love.

Fourthly, if necessary, and the Pope should require it, to go into Spain and free that country from the unbelievers.

Besides all this they enjoined him privately to practise fasting and almsgiving, and other penance which never came to the ears of the public.

The king graciously assented to all, saying, "My lords the

legates, I am wholly in your hands, and I shall do whatever you enjoin; I will go to Rome, to Jerusalem, or to St. James, if you wish it." All who were present were much touched at the humility and reverence of his manner.

When this was settled, the legates led the king, at his own wish, out of the church, and there kneeling, but without stripes, he received absolution, and was received anew into the Church.

48. Richard's Ordinances of Chinon.

June 1190. Roger of Howden, iii. 35.

Meanwhile the King of England started for Gascony, and having besieged William de Chisi's castle, captured it. William himself, the lord of that castle, he hanged, because he had plundered the pilgrims to St. James and other folk passing through his land. Then came the King of England to Chinon, in Anjou, where he appointed Girard archbishop of Auch, Bernard bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sablun, Richard de Camville, and William de Forz of Oleron, admirals and constables of his whole fleet that was about to set sail for Syria. And he gave them his charter in this form:

Richard, by the grace of God King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to all his men who are about to journey to Jerusalem by sea—greeting. Know that with the common counsel of men approved we have had the following rules drawn up. Whoever on board ship shall slay another is himself to be thrown into the sea bound to the dead man; if he have slain him ashore he is to be buried in the earth. If any one be proved by lawful witnesses to have drawn a knife for the purpose of striking another, or to have wounded another to the effusion of blood, let him lose his fist; but if he strike another with his hand without drawing blood, let him be dipped three times in the sea. If any one cast any taunt or bad word against another, or invoke God's curse on him, let him for every offence pay an ounce of silver. Let a convicted thief be shorn like a prize-fighter; after which let boiling pitch be poured on his head and a feather pillow be shaken over it so as to make him

clearly recognised. Then let him be put ashore at the first land where the ships touch. Witness myself at Chinon.

Moreover the same king in another writ instructed all his men, who were going to sea, to yield obedience to the words and ordinances of the above-mentioned justiciars of his fleet. Then the king went to Tours, where he received the pilgrim's stave and wallet from the hand of William, archbishop of Tours. And when the king leant on the stave it broke.

49. Richard's Fleet, and his landing in Sicily.

September 23, 1190. Richard of Devizes, p. 17.

The ships that King Richard found prepared at the sea-coast were a hundred in number, together with 14 busses, vessels of huge size, wonderful strength, and great speed. They were arranged and set in order as follows. The first ship had three rudders, thirteen anchors, thirty oars, two sails, and triple ropes of every kind; moreover, it had two of everything that a ship can need—saving only the mast and boat. It had one very skilful captain, and fourteen picked seamen to sail her. The ship was laden with forty horses of price, all well trained for war, and with all kinds of arms for as many riders, for forty footmen, and fifteen sailors. Moreover it had a whole year's supplies for all these men and horses. All the ships were laden in the same way; but each buss took double cargo and gear. The king's treasure, which was exceedingly great and of inestimable worth, was divided amongst the ships and the busses so that if one part fell into danger the rest might be saved.

When everything was thus ordered, the king with a small following, and the chief men of the army with their servants, put off from the shore, preceding the fleet in galleys. Each day they put in at some fort and, taking up the larger ships and busses of that sea as they went along, reached Messina without disaster. . . . On the morrow after his arrival (Sept. 23) the King of England had gallows set up outside his camp to hang thieves and brigands on. Nor did the judges spare age and sex, but there was the same law to stranger and native. The King of France feigned ignorance of the

wrongs his men inflicted and received; but the King of England, deeming it no matter of what nationality the criminals were and considering every man as his own, left no wrong unpunished. For this reason the Griffons [Greeks] called the one king *The Lamb* and the other *The Lion*.

50. Richard besieges Acre and forces it to yield.

July 5, 1191. Itinerarium Ricardi, 224, iii. c. 12.

King Richard was not yet quite recovered, yet, eager for action, he turned his thoughts to the taking of the city, and had it attacked by his men in the hopes of gaining some success with God's help. Accordingly he had a kind of hurdle-shed made and brought up to the moat outside the city wall. Under it were placed his most skilful crossbow-men; whilst, to encourage his own men for the combat and to discourage the Saracens by his presence, he had himself borne thither on silken cushions. From this position he worked a crossbow, in the management of which he was very skilful, and slew many of the foes by the quarrels he shot. His miners also, approaching the tower against which his stone-casters were aimed, by an underground passage dug down towards the foundations, filling the gaps they made with logs, to which they would set fire, thus causing the walls, which had already been shaken by the stone-casters, to collapse with sudden crash.

Thereupon the king, reflecting how difficult the work was and how brave were the enemies, knowing also how needful it was to kindle men's courage at a crisis, thought it more fitting to encourage the young [warriors] on by promises of reward than to urge them on by harsh words. Accordingly he proclaimed that he would give two gold pieces to any one who would extract a stone from the wall near the above-mentioned tower. Later he promised three and even four gold pieces for each stone. Then might you see the young men with their followers leap forth and rush against the wall and set themselves eagerly to drag out the stones—and this as much for the sake of praise as of pay. . . .

At last when the tower had fallen prostrate before the blows of our stone-casters and when King Richard's men began to

stop mining, our soldiers, in their greed for fame and victory, began to don their arms. Amongst the banners of these were the Earl of Leicester's; that of Andrew de Chavigni and of Hugh Brown. The bishop of Salisbury also came up, arrayed in the most splendid fashion, and many more. It was about breakfast time when these brave men-at-arms began their work, going forth to storm the tower, which they boldly scaled at once. The Turkish watchmen, on seeing them, raised a shout, and lo! the whole city was soon all a-bustle. Our soldiers were few, whereas the numbers of the Turks kept on increasing. The Turks also threw Greek fire against their enemies, and this at last forced the men-at-arms to fall back and leave the tower, where some of them were slain by weapons, others burnt by that most deadly fire. Never has there been such a people as these Turks for warlike valour. And yet, the city would on that day have been taken and the whole siege finished if the entire army had displayed an equal courage. For, you must know, by far the larger part of the army was at that hour breakfasting; and, as the attack was made at an unsuitable time, it failed.

. . . . . .

On the day of its surrender the city had been in the possession of the Saracens four years. It was surrendered, as has been already said, on the morrow of the translation of St. Benedict. But not without horror could the conquerors see the state of the churches within the city; nor can they even now unmoved remember the foul sights they witnessed there. Who would not shudder when he actually saw the insulting way in which the accursed Turks had overthrown the altars, torn down and battered the holy crosses? Ay, and they had even set up their own images of Mohammed in the sacred places, bringing in foul Mohammedan superstitions, after banishing all the symbols of human salvation and the faith of Christ.

51. King Richard's Illness: Safadin's Love for him

Rich. of Devizes, 69.

The king lay exceedingly ill on his couch; the typhus abated not, and the leeches were murmuring about the greater semi-

tertian fever. They began to despair, and from the king's house despair spread over the camp. There were few amongst many thousands who did not think of flight, and the utmost confusion would have followed, had not Hubert Walter, the bishop of Salisbury, quickly called a council. Strong arguments were brought forward to prevent the army from dispersing till a truce had been got from Saladin. All the armed men [said Hubert] must stand in battle order more closely than their wont, and a threatening countenance must cover their inward fear with a false pretence of valour. No one was to speak of the king's illness lest the enemy should learn the secret of their great grief. . . .

Meanwhile there came down to visit the king, as was his wont, a certain gentle Safadin, Saladin's brother, an old soldier, very courteous and wise, and one whom the king's magnanimity and generosity had won over to his side. When the king's servants received him with less glee than was their wont, and would not admit him to audience with their master, he said: "By the interpreter I perceive ye are in great sorrow, nor am I ignorant of the reason. My friend your king is sick, and it is for this reason ye close the door against me." Then, bursting into lamentation, "O God of the Christians," he said, "if thou indeed be God, thou canst not suffer such a man and one so needful to die so early. . . "

52. Richard leaves the Holy Land and sets sail from Acre.

October 9, 1192. Itin. Ric. v.

Now garrulous folk were wont to say that the pilgrims had done very little good in Jerusalem, because they had not recovered the city. Such speech, however, was only foolish talk of men without knowledge. But we deem ourselves worthy of credence, for we saw and experienced all the sufferings and trials of these pilgrims. . . . And we know surely that at the siege of Acre and afterwards in the city itself there perished more than 300,000 pilgrims owing to disease and famine. Now who can doubt as to the salvation of such good and noble men who heard service daily from their own chaplains?

Meanwhile King Richard's fleet was being prepared, all things necessary, both arms and stores, were being prepared and put in order for the return voyage. Then the king, out of pure generosity and regard for his noble character, set free ten of his noblest captive Turks in return for William des Préaux, who had formerly been captured in mistake for him. Now the Turks would gladly have paid a large sum of money might they only have been allowed to keep William; but the magnanimity of the king disdained to be sullied by any such concession.

All preparations being made, the king, when on the point of embarking, thought fit to take heed that not the slightest matter should be left uncared for, lest his fair fame should be tarnished. And so, by herald's voice, he had all his creditors called up and paid in full.

On St. Michael's day the two queens, Berengaria, Queen of England, King Richard's wife, and Joan, formerly Queen of Sicily, King Richard's sister, embarked at Acre. On St. Denis's Day Richard went aboard ready to return to England. When the king's fleet set sail how many sighs broke out from pious hearts, how freely flowed the tears from people's eyes! . . . With what bitter lamentations were the voices of the mourners heard crying, "O Jerusalem, thou art indeed defenceless, now that thou art reft of such a champion. If by any chance the truce is broken, who will save thee from thy assailants in King Richard's absence?" Whilst all men were repeating such sad prognostications the king, whose health was not yet fully restored, set sail with the prayers of every one. And all night long the vessel sped on by starlight, till, as the morning broke, the king, looking back with pious eyes upon the land behind him, after long reflection broke out into prayer: "O Holy Land, to God do I entrust thee. May He, of His mercy, only grant me such span of life that, by His good will, I may bring thee aid. For it is my hope and purpose to aid thee at some future time." And, with this prayer, he pressed his sailors to set all sail so that they might sail the quicker.

53. Magna Carta.

W. S. McKechnie's "Magna Carta: A Commentary
1215. on the Great Charter of King John."

Ch. I. In the first place we have granted to God and by this our present charter confirmed for us and for our heirs for ever that the English Church shall be free and shall have her rights entire and her liberties inviolate; and we will that it be thus observed; which is apparent from this that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned most important and very essential to the English Church, we, of our pure and unconstrained will did grant, and by our charter did confirm and did obtain the ratification of the same from our lord, Pope Innocent III., before the quarrel arose between us and our barons, and this we will observe and our will is that it be observed in good faith by our heirs for ever. We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever.

Ch. II. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding of us in chief by military service shall have died, and at the time of his death, his heir shall be of full age and owe "relief," he shall have his inheritance on payment of the ancient relief, namely, the heir or heirs of an earl, £100 for a whole earl's barony; the heir or heirs of a baron, £100 for a whole barony; the heir or heirs of a knight, 100 shillings at most for a whole knight's fee; and whoever owes less let him give less, according to the ancient custom of fiefs.

Ch. III. If, however, the heir of any one of the aforesaid has been under age and in wardship, let him have his inheritance without relief and without fine when he comes of age.

Ch. IV. The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age, shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods; and if we have committed the wardship of the lands of any such minor to the sheriff, or to any other who is responsible to us for its issues, and he has made destruction or waste of what he holds in wardship, we will take of him

amends, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall be responsible to us for the issues, or to him to whom we shall assign them; and if we have given or sold the wardship of any such land to some one and he has therein made destruction or waste, he shall lose that wardship, and it shall be transferred to two lawful and discreet men of that fief, who shall be responsible to us in like manner as aforesaid.

Ch. V. The guardian, moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, places for livestock, fishponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and he shall restore to the heir, when he has come to full age, all his land, stocked with ploughs and implements of husbandry, according as the season of husbandry shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear.

Ch. VI. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, yet so that before the marriage takes place the nearest in blood to that heir shall have notice.

Ch. VII. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty have her marriage portion and inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or for her marriage portion, or for the inheritance which her husband and she held on the day of the death of that husband; and she may remain in the house of her husband for forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

Ch. VIII. Let no widow be compelled to marry, so long as she prefers to live without a husband: provided always that she gives security not to marry without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

Ch. X. And if any one die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if any children of the deceased are left under age, necessaries shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews.

Ch. XII. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom unless by common counsel of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight and for marrying our eldest daughter; and for these shall not be levied more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be done concerning aids from the citizens of London.

Ch. XIV. And for obtaining the common counsel of this kingdom anent the assessing of an aid (except in the three cases aforesaid) or of a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishop, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, by our letters under seal; and we will moreover cause to be summoned generally, through our sheriffs and bailiffs all others who hold of us in chief, at a fixed date, namely, after the expiry of at least forty days and at a fixed place; and in all letters of such summons we will specify the reason of the summons. And when the summons has thus been made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the counsel of such as are present, although not all who were summoned have come.

Ch. XVI. No one shall be compelled to perform greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement, than is due therefrom.

Ch. XX. A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence except in accordance with the degree of the offence; and for a grave offence he shall be amerced in accordance with the gravity of his offence, yet saving always his "contenement"; and a merchant in the same way, saving his wares; and a villein shall be amerced in the same way, saving his wainage—if they have fallen into our mercy: and none of the aforesaid amercements shall be imposed except by the oath of honest men of the neighbourhood.

Ch. XXI. Earls and barons shall not be amerced except through their peers and only in accordance with the degree of the offence.

Ch. XXIII. No community or individual shall be compelled to make bridges at river banks, except those who from of old were legally bound to do so.

Ch. XXVII. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest kinsfolk and

friends, under the supervision of the church, saving to every one the debts which the deceased owed to him.

Ch. XXVIII. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take corn or other provision from any one without immediately tendering money therefor, unless he can have postponement thereof by permission of the seller.

Ch. XXX. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other person, shall take up the horses or carts of any freeman for transport duty, against the will of the said freeman.

Ch. XXXV. Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn, to wit, "the London quarter"; and one width of cloth (whether dyed, or russet, or halberget), to wit, two ells within the selvedges; of weights also let it be as of measures.

Ch. XXXIX. No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested; and we will not set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land.

Ch. XL. To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.

Ch. XLI. All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to tarry there and to move about as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right customs, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us. And if any such are found in our land at the beginning of the war, they shall be detained, without injury to their bodies or goods, until information be received by us, or by our chief justiciar, how the merchants of our land found in the land at war with us are treated; and if our men are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

Ch. XLVIII. All evil customs connected with forests and warrens, foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, river-banks and their wardens, shall immediately be inquired into in each county by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by the honest men of the same county, and shall within forty days of the same inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored, provided always that we previously have infor-

mation thereof, or our justiciar, if we should not be in England.

Ch. LII. If any one has been dispossessed or removed by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, from his lands, castles, franchises, or from his right, we will immediately restore them to him; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided by the five-and-twenty barons of whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace. Moreover, for all those possessions, from which any one has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed, by our father, King Henry, or by our brother, King Richard, and which we retain in our hand (or which are possessed by others, to whom we are bound to warrant them), we shall have respite until the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised, or an inquest made by our order, before our taking of the cross; but as soon as we return from our expedition (or if perchance we desist from the expedition) we will immediately grant full justice therein.

54. The Return to Allegiance.

Translated from Latin of Henry III.'s letter to Honorius III. Shirley, "Royal Letters," vii. [Rolls].

1217.

To his most excellent lord and father in Christ, the most holy Honorius, by God's grace supreme pontiff, Henry, by the same grace King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, sends greeting with the reverence due to so august a lord and father.

To your most excellent governance, by whose aid we have been raised from tears to smiles, from dark to light, from a cribbed cradle to far-stretching realms, we do not cease, and never shall cease, to pour forth our best and most grateful thanks. And as we are beholden to you, as to our very dear lord, in every possible way, so are we bound to you, of our free accord, for an annual tribute of 1000 marks as a special debt. That the payment thereof has not been as punctual during our reign as it ought to have been is a real source of annoyance and grief to us. And that we may not be held altogether inexcusable, we have sent to your holiness's

presence our well-beloved and trusty servants the venerable father Ralph, bishop of Chichester; Peter Saracen, a Roman; Master Geoffrey of Calais; and brother Richard, a monk of Abingdon, as our messengers to explain to you by word of mouth, if it is your pleasure, the circumstances of the case and of our position, with which they are fully acquainted. We have given them orders and instructions not to dare to conceal from you any point connected with our position or the state of our realm. . . .

But up till now our power has been unequal to our will, because in the first place, in consequence of the impoverishment of their districts by the war, our bailiffs are not able to pay in as much as usual to our treasury; and, secondly, because our loyal subject, William, Earl Marshal, pledged himself on our behalf to the Lord Louis, under a heavy penalty, to pay 10,000 marks for the boon of peace made between him and us; and, thirdly, because we are bound—actually, indeed, urged thereto at your request—to give satisfaction to the illustrious Queen Berengaria in a matter of 5000 marks due to her. Moreover, we are worried with other debts which fully occupy us, who are without experience in weighty business. But by God's favour a settlement satisfactory to your holiness, especially in the matter of the tribute due to you, will soon be made. . . .

When these our messengers left, the state of the country and ourselves was such that all the magnates from every part of England and its borders were coming in and returning to our allegiance and peace; and we hope that with the help of your governance they will become more and more loyal. . . . Witness, Earl William, Marshal, guardian of us and of our realm, at Westminster, November 6.

55. The Pope and the Cape of English Castles.

Translated from the Latin of a letter from Honorius III. to Pandulph. Shirley, "Royal Letters," civ. [Rolls].

1220

Honorius the bishop servant of the servants of God, to his well beloved son Pandulph, bishop-elect of Norwich, our

chamberlain, legate of the apostolic see, greeting and blessing.

By the authority of these present letters we order you not to allow any one in the realm of England, however faithful a subject or dear friend he may be to our very dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, to hold more than two royal castles in his charge; for this we think will prove advantageous to the king. Postpone appeals and crush opposition by ecclesiastical censure. Given at Viterbo, May 28, in the fourth year of our pontificate.

56. The Pope's Good Advice to Henry III.

Translated from Latin letter of Honorius III. to Henry III. Shirley, "Royal Letters," App. 16 [Rolls].

1224.

We rejoice in the Lord and give Him thanks that, as our beloved sons, Master Stephen de Lucy and the noble Geoffrey de Craucumb, your discreet and loyal envoys, have agreed in reporting to us and our brethren your conduct is in every way praiseworthy, so that the flower seems to give certain promise of pleasing and acceptable fruit in the future; wherefore we are filled with the greater eagerness, in that we hold your person and realm in the embrace of our especial affection. But because the minds of men differ even as their faces, precisely as the poet says:

> Men are of a thousand kinds, and life hath many a varying shade;
> Each man hath his own desires, and many a different prayer is made,

it is expedient that, just as you are the common lord of all men in your realm, so you should labour to please all in common, by showing yourself gracious and kind to every man; and if discord arise at some time among them, as usually happens among so many men, you should not incline to one side, but should correct, guide and govern both sides with equal consideration, care and earnestness, so that every one of them may acknowledge in you the uprightness of royal majesty, and may not fear to repose his case upon your

bosom and have confidence in you, as a loyal vassal in a gracious lord or a dutiful son in a loving father.

We therefore ask your majesty earnestly to write this on the tablets of your heart, and to bring it forth for use when necessary, favouring neither side, but showing yourself impartial as a king should, even dissembling your own wrongs, when it shall seem advisable, to avoid scandal. Especially do we suggest to your majesty and honestly advise you not to stand on your rights with your vassals at this present time, and not to offend them in the matter of the restoration of your dues, but wisely to postpone to a suitable time such and other matters as could create offence. You must know that your aforesaid envoys, whom we send back to you with every commendation for their loyalty and ungrudging service, submitted to us your requests about the matters before mentioned and others as well, and worked hard and keenly to get them granted. Some of these we have allowed, but some, acting on the advice of our brethren, we have thought it better to hold over for the present, because we saw that it was better so. These and any others you think fit to lay before us we will hear at a suitable time, for we love you most affectionately as the especial child of the Roman Church, and have so far of our free will been careful to secure peace for you and your realm both within and without; and with watchful zeal we intend so to do for the future and to extend to you in all things seemly the favour and grace, the counsel and aid of the apostolic see. Given at the Lateran, March 14, in the eighth year of our pontificate.

57. The Barons forced to give up the King's Castles.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, ii. 276 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216–1235.

1224. In the year of our Lord 1224 King Henry held his Christmas court at Northampton, along with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of his province, and a great retinue of knights. But the Earl of Chester with his fellow-

conspirators held the festival at Leicester, arrogantly threatening the king and his justiciar because the former demanded from him the surrender and custody of his castles and lands.

On the following day after mass the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, clad in white and with lighted tapers, excommunicated all disturbers of king and kingdom and all invaders of holy church and church property; and then the archbishop sent special messengers to Leicester to the Earl of Chester and his accomplices; denouncing each and every one of them in strong terms, to the effect that, unless on the following day they surrendered all castles and honours pertaining to the crown into the king's hands, he himself and all the bishops would excommunicate them individually by name, as our lord the Pope had ordered them to do. Then the Earl of Chester and his accomplices, being informed by their spies that the king had a larger number of troops than themselves, were greatly alarmed, because, if they had had the means, they would have waged fierce war against the king on account of the justiciar; but when they considered their lack of resources, they were afraid to enter upon an uncertain struggle. And, besides, they feared that the archbishop and bishops would excommunicate them if they did not give up their undertaking; and the result was that they thought better of it, and came every man of them to the king at Northampton, and, beginning with the Earl of Chester, surrendered to the king all castles, towns, honours, and charges pertaining to the crown. But none the less these same nobles were still indignant with the king for refusing to dismiss the justiciar at their bidding. The leading spirits of this strife were the Earl of Chester, the Earl of Albemarle, John, Constable of Chester, Falkes and his castellans, Robert de Vipont, Brian de l'Isle, Peter de Mauleon, Philip Marc, Engelard d'Athie, William de Cantelo and his son William, and many others, who were all trying their hardest to disturb the peace of the realm.

58. Llewelyn and his Claims to Independence.

Translated from Latin letter of Llewelyn to Henry III.
1224. Shirley, "Royal Letters," cci. [Rolls].

To the reverend lord and his very dear brother Henry, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, sends greeting and dutiful affection.

We have dutifully received your majesty's writ, wherein, among other matters, you informed us that men of the Lord Falkes de Bréauté had done you grievous wrong by capturing and retaining till now Henry of Braybrook. On this account you have thought fit to lay siege to Falkes' castle of Bedford. Accordingly, you have forbidden us to give him aid or counsel by harbouring him or his men. To this we return you answer that Falkes came into our land with weighty and bitter complaints as to what your council was succeeding in doing to him. He proved, moreover, that the aforesaid Henry was captured without his consent or knowledge, and although he did not approve of what had been done, nevertheless he offered to make William de Bréauté and his retainers stand their trial, and to give satisfaction for what they had done. And because your council rejected this offer he maintained that it proved he had been unjustly treated. He left our land on the same day as he had come to us.

It is not because we are bound to excuse ourselves for receiving him and his men that we are sending you this letter; for we are just as independent as the King of Scotland, who welcomes outlaws from England, and that with impunity. . . . Moreover, you have informed us that sentence has been passed against Falkes as a disturber of the realm; but you may be assured they rather are disturbers of the realm who offer you such bad counsel as to banish from your presence and council great men, necessary for your welfare, disinheriting them and harassing them without reason merely at your caprice. If, indeed, Falkes shall defend himself against the lord pope, who wants to disinherit him, we do not believe that he

would be excommunicate in the sight of God. But whatever others may do in these or other matters, we shall do nothing against our conscience. We should prefer, indeed, to be excommunicated by man rather than to do anything against God, when our conscience would condemn us. In this and other matters may God give you and us wholesome counsel, for we are in great need thereof. Farewell.

59. The Power of Llewelyn-ap-Iorwerth.

From the translation of the Welsh "Brut-y-Tywysogion,"
1228. p. 317 [Rolls]. Probably contemporary.

The ensuing year King Henry, having with him the strength of England, came to Wales, intending to subjugate Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth, and all the Welsh princes, and encamped in the place called Ceri; and on the other side of the wood the Welsh, with Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth, their prince, assembled to oppose the king. And there they attacked their enemies, and fought with them furiously, making vast slaughter of them. And there young William Braose was taken and wounded, and imprisoned, and for his liberation the Castle of Builth, with the district and a vast sum of money, was given to Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth. And then the king returned to England with shame; only he obtained the homage of the princes who were there, and formed a pacification between them and Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth.

60. English dismissed for Poitevins.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover,
1233. iii. 47 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216–1235.

In the year of our Lord 1233 Henry, King of England, in the seventeenth year of his reign, held his Christmas court at Worcester, and there, it is said, on the advice of Peter, bishop of Winchester, he dismissed all his English-born ministers from their offices and put Poitevin foreigners in their place. He also dismissed Sir William de Rodune, who acted at court for Richard, the grand marshal, and Richard was exceedingly indignant on this account. Acting on the same advice, the

king first dismissed Walter, bishop of Carlisle, from the treasurership and then took from him a hundred pounds of silver, as well as insultingly depriving him of certain wardships which he had confirmed to him by charter for his lifetime. All his councillors, bishops and earls alike, barons and nobles of his realm, he dismissed in a hurry, no longer trusting to any save the bishop we have mentioned and his son Peter of Rivaux, so much so that, after driving out the keepers of his castles throughout England, the king entrusted them all to the charge of this Peter. Then, in order to get a better hold on the king's favour, Peter, bishop of Winchester, associated with himself the pliant Stephen Segrave and Robert Passelewe, who was deputy-treasurer under Peter of Rivaux; and thus it came about that the king managed the business of the realm entirely at these men's advice and counsel. And he invited over Poitevins and Bretons from oversea—2000 of them came horsed and armed, knights and men-at-arms—whom he kept in his service, giving them the castles of the realm to garrison, and they oppressed native-born Englishmen, nobles too, calling them traitors and actually accusing them at court of treason; and the simple king believed their lies, and gave them the charge of counties and baronies, and the wardship of noble youths and maidens. These they sorely degraded by ignoble marriages. The king also entrusted to them the care of his treasury, and the administration of the law and justice of the country.

61. The King dismisses the Poitevins.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover,
1234. iii. 78 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216–1235.

On the fourth Sunday in Lent, which fell on April 9, the king, earls, barons, the recently consecrated archbishop, and his suffragan bishops, met at Westminster to take proper measures for settling the disturbances in the kingdom. The archbishop, with the bishops and other prelates there present, came to the king and gave him the advice of himself and the bishops concerning the desolation of the realm and its imminent danger. . . . He also boldly told the king to his

face that, unless he quickly gave up the error of his ways and came to a peaceful arrangement with his subjects, he himself and all the prelates there present would straightway excommunicate him and all others who disturbed the peace and broke up harmony. The king turned a pious ear to the prelate's advice, and humbly replied that he would entirely yield to their counsels; and consequently, a few days later, perceiving his errors, he penitently ordered Peter, bishop of Winchester, to retire to his bishopric, and concern himself with the care of souls and no longer meddle with affairs of state. He gave strict orders, also, to Peter of Rivaux, to whose will and pleasure England was entirely subjected, to surrender him his castles, give an account of the treasury, and leave the court immediately; and he swore, moreover, that, had he not been beneficed and one of the clergy, he would have had both his eyes plucked out. Moreover, he dismissed all the Poitevins, not only from the court, but also from the command of castles, and sent them back to their own country, with orders to see his face no more. And then the king, who was extremely anxious for peace, sent Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Chester and Rochester, to Llewelyn in Wales and to Richard, earl marshal, to treat with them as to peace.

62. Edmund Rich and the Papal Extortion.

Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris, iv. 31 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235–1259.

1240. And about this season it was current gossip that a most iniquitous agreement was entered into between the lord pope and the Romans, to the effect that all vacant benefices in England, especially those held by regulars, should be assigned to the sons or relations of the Romans at their goodwill and pleasure, always, however, subject to the condition that they should all take up arms against the emperor, and as far as in them lay, hurl him forthwith from his imperial height, thus acting up to the reputation of their ancient powers. Accordingly, a few days later the lord pope sent his sacred instructions to Edmund, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and to the bishops

of Lincoln and Salisbury to provide for 300 Romans in the first benefices that fell vacant; they were to understand that they were suspended from appointing to benefices until suitable provision had been made for that number. This filled the hearts of all who heard it with great amazement, and it was feared that he who ventured on such a course would be overwhelmed in the depths of despair.

And at this same time Edmund, lord archbishop of Canterbury, who of his own accord, albeit despite his own desire, had submitted to the abominable extortion of which we have spoken by his payment of 800 marks to the pope, seeing the Church of England being daily more and more trampled on and spoiled of its temporal possessions and robbed of its liberties, was overwhelmed with weariness, in that he was still living and saw such evil upon the earth; and when he upbraided the king for granting permission he got no satisfaction. So, provoked by his various wrongs, he went into exile in France, and with his downcast household took up his abode at Pontigny, where his predecessor, the blessed Thomas, had lived in exile, and spent all his time in prayers and fasting.

63. Landowners in France and England.

Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris, iv. 288 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235–1259.

1244. About that time the King of France summoned to Paris all those who lived and held land oversea in England, and thus addressed them: "Whosoever lives in my realm and holds estates in England must, inasmuch as no man can properly serve two masters, either cleave to me or adhere for good to the King of England." Accordingly some who had estates and revenues in England gave them up and kept to their possessions in France, while others did the contrary. When the King of England was informed of this he ordered that all Frenchmen, especially Normans, should be dispossessed of their estates in England. Therefore the King of France held that the King of England had broken the truce between them, because he had not given those who were to be deprived of their lands in one country or the other the option of going

over voluntarily to which king they chose, as he himself had done. But because he had been greatly weakened in health since his return from Poitou, he had no wish to bring about a quarrel, but rather went out of his way to restrain the vehement complaints of the Normans, and their hot-headed, eager desire to attack the King of England.

64. English Ports guarded to keep out Papal Letters.

Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris,
1245. iv. 417 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235–1259.

Under urgent necessity, therefore, orders were given at this time by some of the higher nobility, who grieved for the manifold oppression of the realm, that the ports should be guarded, and that papal letters, which were being brought in every day to extort money, should be seized. Now, it chanced at that time that a papal messenger, charged with such sealed letters from the pope, had landed at Dover. The guardian at that port and governor of the town immediately arrested him, and, after taking from him all those letters, which contained many abominable statements about the various devices for extorting money, had him imprisoned in Dover Castle. When Master Martin heard this, he came to the king to lodge a complaint thereon; and the king, denying his responsibility in the matter, ordered the messenger to be released, and, to the ruin of the realm and to his own dishonour, he had the letters taken by force from the governor of Dover and quietly presented to Master Martin, for him to rejoice at pleasure in the effects produced by some of them.

65. Letter from England to the Pope.

Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris,
1245. iv. 441 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235–1259.

To the reverend father in Christ, Innocent, by the grace of God supreme pontiff, the magnates and commonalty of the realm of England commend them and kiss his blessed feet.

Our mother the Roman Church we love, as in duty bound with all our hearts, and we desire the increase of her honour

with all possible affection, and in her we ought to find a refuge at the proper season, so that the burden of our filial grief may be assuaged by her motherly comfort. And this comfort the mother should render the son the more gently and readily the more she requires his favour and loyalty in return for the support of her motherly grace. Now, our mother Church cannot be unmindful of that gratitude paid to her through long ages by the realm of England which has given her, for her greater honour and preservation, fitting and unstinted subsidy, in order that thereby a closer league of affection should be brought about between the Church and this realm. And this subsidy in process of time has come to be known as Peter's Pence. But the Church, not content with this sort of subsidy, at divers times by legates and many other messengers, asked for different subsidies in this realm, which were generously and freely given her by her sons whose devotion was so great and who, as it were, embraced their mother in the arms of true affection. Now, we do not think that you are ignorant, father, that our predecessors, all of them good Catholics, with the love and fear of God in their hearts, anxious, too, to ensure the salvation of their own souls, and that of their predecessors and successors as well, have founded monasteries and endowed them with their property—domain land, and church patronage —so that in them the religious might worthily exercise the first and chiefest part of religion, and by serving the Most High with the deepest devotion might rejoice in peace and the fullest quiet, as is known to be most meet for a religious life, and derive their necessary sustenance from these domains, and that their clerks taking the church within their patronage might undertake in their stead the toils of the world, and by keeping to the second part of religion might defend them from the attack of others. Wherefore only to our great annoyance and insufferable vexation could these men of religion be in any way deprived of their patronage or appointments to churches. But now, through want of consideration on the part of you and your predecessors, in addition to these subsidies, the Italians in England, of whom there are now vast numbers, are enriched by churches which are really in the patronage of those men of religion, and they are called rectors of the churches; but

they leave the religious whom it is their duty to protect absolutely without protection, and, charged with no care of souls, they allow ravening wolves to scatter the flock and harry the sheep. Wherefore it can be said of them with truth, that they are no good shepherds. To hospitality and the distribution of alms they pay no heed, as the Church bids; but they merely gather their revenues and take them out of the realm, thereby greatly impoverishing it; and they usurp the revenues which should rightly go to benefit our brothers, nephews, and kinsmen, and all others who have done good service to the realm, and who could and would not only mercifully perform the said works of charity and others as well, but give personal service to the churches, so that they *who serve the altar* may also live of the altar. But now under the force of necessity, these men are either laymen or exiles. And that you may know the full truth, the Italians in England receive annually 600,000 marks and more, and, not to mention divers other things they receive, take from the realm more clear gain of revenue than the king himself, who is the guardian of the Church, and guides the helm of state. Moreover, after your election we had a good hope, and still have—such is our confidence in you—that by the mediation of your fatherly mercy we shall rejoice in the restoration in your time of our alms in their former proper condition.

But we cannot be silent on our own burden, whereby we are not only weighed down but even oppressed beyond measure. We refer to the fact that Martin, without the permission of our lord the king, and with fuller powers than ever we have seen a legate hold even when invited by our lord the king, has lately come to this realm, and although he does not wear legate's dress, yet, by multiplying a legate's functions and by daily laying claim to new and unheard-of powers, surpasses himself in excesses. Certain benefices which happened to be vacant, of the annual value of thirty marks or more, he has conferred on Italians, and when they die others are brought in without the knowledge of the patrons, who are thus defrauded of their presentations. Moreover, the said Master Martin tries to assign similar benefices, when they fall vacant, to similar persons, by reserving the presentation to certain benefices for

the Apostolic See; and he extorts, besides, immoderate pensions from the religious, everywhere inflicting upon those who gainsay or oppose him sentences of excommunication and interdict, to the great peril and danger of their souls. Since, therefore, this Master Martin, to the great disturbance of the whole realm, exercises this jurisdiction, which we cannot think you have knowingly imparted to him, seeing that in many matters his functions were more extensive than we have ever known a legate's to be, to the prejudice of our lord the king's privileges, specially granted to him by the Apostolic See, to the effect that no one should act as legate in England except at the special request of our lord the king, we now, in all possible humility and devotion, pray your fatherly goodness—that your fatherly kindness may be pleased to relieve us by a seasonable remedy from the burdens we have here rehearsed; for however much our lord the king, who is a Catholic prince, and watchfully zealous in the service of God, may wish in our Lord's service to reverence the Holy See, and as her most affectionate son long for the increase of the prosperity and honour of the Roman Church, while preserving at the same time his royal rights and dignity, yet we, who in his service "bear the burden and heat of the day," and whose duty it is together with him to strive for the preservation of the realm, cannot suffer in patience these oppressions, which are hateful to God and man, and these our insufferable burdens, and by God's grace we will not suffer them, for we hope and believe that we shall have a swift and seasonable remedy provided by your loving kindness. May it therefore please your fatherly goodness so to accept this petition that you may justly receive the special thanks of the magnates and commonalty of the realm of England, as of your most affectionate sons in Christ.

66. The Kingdom pledged for the Pope's War.

Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris,
1254. v. 470 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235–1259.

At this same time, in violation of all decency and expediency under the pain of disinheritance, though he neither could nor

should have done such a thing, the king pledged himself and his realm to our lord the pope, as security for all the treasures to be expended by the latter in the prosecution of the war he had begun on such a splendid scale on the king's behalf; and he begged him to leave nothing undone through despair of getting the money, but to push on the undertaking and to crush all those who put obstacles in the way of his excellent purpose. For he, the king, was amply supplying him with all necessaries from the unexhausted well of England. So the pope, having no lively affection for England, borrowed largely, nay, lavishly, from Italian usurers, or traders as they are called; and this money, which the pope extorted and the king got by cheating, England, the veriest bondslave of servitude, had to pay.

67. Edward and his Welsh Neighbours.

From the translation of the Welsh "Brut-y-Tywysogion,"
1255. 341 [Rolls]. Probably contemporary.

The ensuing year Edward, son of King Henry, Earl of Caerleon [Chester], came, in August . . . , to take a survey of his castles and lands in Gwynedd. And then, as it were about August, and after he had returned to England, the nobles of Wales came to Llewelyn, son of Griffith, having been robbed of their liberty and made captives, and complainingly declared to him that they would rather be killed in war for their liberty than suffer themselves to be trodden down by strangers in bondage. And Llewelyn was moved at their tears; and by their incitement and advice, he, with Meredith, son of Rhys the Hoarse, invaded the midland country, and subdued it all before the end of the week. And then he took Merioneth to himself, and that part of Ceredigion which belonged to Edward he gave to Meredith, son of Owen, son of Griffith, son of the lord, with Builth in addition; and he restored to Meredith, son of Rhys the Hoarse, his territory by expelling his nephew Rhys from his territory, and gave the territory to Meredith, retaining nothing to himself of all the conquered lands other than fame and reward. And afterwards he wrested

Gwerthrynion from Roger Mortimer, and held it in his own hand.

68. Complaints of the Gascon Wine Merchants.

1256. Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris, v. 538 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235–1259.

At this time the Gascon wine merchants had, as usual, endured much loss and harshness from the royal buyers, and, a quarrel ensuing, had made the following reply to the royal agents: "We have a new lord, from whom we hope to derive considerable gain and advantage, and we suppose, therefore, that you will change your evil plundering ways, which you call *customs*, to good, or at any rate passable, regulations. Our lord is new to us, and it is good for him to be well advised, and, while he is so new, to treat us affably and justly, so that he who is, we may say, a tender and youthful plant may grow and increase in prosperity and be fruitful in strength." And when the royal officials refused to listen to them, but, as usual, took their wine from them by force, without paying for it, the Gascons applied to their lord, Edward, and laid before him serious complaints as to what we have mentioned; and they added that they could, as merchants, land with more freedom and liberty among the Saracens and expose their wares for sale and get the proper price without any trouble. The king's bailiffs, hearing this, came to the king in great anger and said: "Sire, till now there has only been one king in England, whose business it is to do justice. The Gascon wine merchants have complained to another than you of the wrong they falsely say has been done to them. This cannot but redound to your prejudice and to the realm's." Just as the king was indignantly listening to this Edward came, and made a bitter complaint about the wrong inflicted on his subjects, maintaining that he would certainly not put up with such conduct. So when the king heard this he groaned deeply, and said: "See, my own flesh and blood oppose me. Just as my brother, Earl Richard, turned against me, so now does my eldest son. The days of my grandfather, Henry II., are come again, against whom his best-loved sons presumptuously rebelled." Many, therefore,

drawing gloomy forebodings from this, were afraid of still worse to follow. But the king, following wiser counsels, passed all this over in silence, and gave proper instructions for the wrong to be righted. Edward, as if taking precautions for his own future, increased his retinue at that time, and rode out with 200 mounted followers.

69. The Welsh Expedition.

Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris, v. 639 *seq.* [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235–1259.

1257. At this time our lord the king sent his writs throughout England, to the effect that all who owed military service to their lord the king should on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene [July 22] be ready and prepared to follow him, with horses and arms, into Wales, to march against the Welsh and to repel their attacks. For the Welsh were now roaming at large and seizing the castles of the borderers and even of the English with impunity; they were putting garrisons to the sword and devastating the country with plunder, fire, and slaughter. When the king had decided to march against them with an army, they got to hear of it, and prudently carried off their wives, children, and cattle into the interior, in the neighbourhood of Snowdon, a mountainous district inaccessible to the English; they ploughed up their fields, and wherever the English would be likely to have their line of march they demolished their walls, destroyed the bridges, made the fords impassable by digging holes, so that those who tried to cross would be plunged in and be drowned, and removed at once every kind of food. And the work of war prospered under their hands, for their cause seemed just even to their enemies; and this it was which chiefly encouraged them in a struggle worthy of their descent for their ancient laws and liberties, a struggle they entered upon as bravely as the Trojans from whom they sprang. Shame upon the wretched English, trampled upon by any and every foreigner, who suffer the ancient liberties of their realm to be snuffed out and do not blush at hearing of the example set them by the Welsh! The latter refused absolutely to submit to Edward, our lord the king's

son, but laughed him to scorn with insults and jeers, with the result that he decided to give up Wales and the Welsh as untamable.

. . . . . .

At that time the Welsh, thinking that things had come to a crisis, leagued themselves in a firm alliance, north and south, a thing which had never been seen before, because hitherto north and south had always been opposed to each other. So, acting together, they suddenly made a vigorous attack upon the king's army, having obtained information by treachery. The king's troops were cut off in a narrow marshy position near their camp, their retreat to which they thought they had secured; but when they supposed they were falling back upon its protection, they found enemies where they thought there were friends. So, crushed as it were between two mill-stones, being attacked in front and rear, they were defeated and scattered and butchered at their enemies' pleasure. In that bloody engagement there fell on the side of our lord the king the distinguished soldiers Sir Stephen Baucan, a great friend of the king's, Sir Robert Norris, and many others whose names we do not remember. The victorious Welsh, therefore, received into their friendship and alliance Griffith, Lord of Bromfield, by whose counsel and warrant they had done this; for he was by race a Welshman, a man of noble birth and of great energy; and because some time back he had remained loyal to the king, the Welsh had reduced to ashes all his vast estates and possessions, which the king had neither the will nor the power to guarantee.

. . . . . .

About that time our lord the king, with a large army, approached Chester just before harvest; and his followers, to prevent the Welsh from getting supplies from them, ruthlessly laid waste the splendid crops and much other produce, thus inflicting great loss on themselves as well as others. The consequence was that very soon such want arose in the army that horses as well as men had to put up with great scarcity of provisions. Meanwhile, the king, to cast the Welsh, whom he called his traitors and enemies, into the depths of despair

sent to Scotland and Ireland and elsewhere for considerable reinforcements, in order to hem in the Welsh and smash them up once for all, like potters' vessels. But Llewelyn, on the advice of his chiefs, sent a special embassy to the king asking for terms of peace, but always on condition that they should peacefully keep their ancient laws and liberties, as had ever been their custom, and that they should be the subjects, not of Edward or any one else, but of the king, and that they should answer to him alone; for the rest, they stated plainly that they would not allow themselves to be given away and sold like cattle and asses. But this moderate request, made with humble entreaties, the king did not grant, but, encouraging his troops, marched further against them every day; and spreading his royal banner, as if it were a dragon sparing none, he threatened the destruction of all Wales.

. . . . . .

Towards the end of the autumn, when winter had already begun to shorten the days and bring on the cold, and the greatest scarcity had fallen upon the royal army, our lord the king, on the advice of his courtiers, who were indignant at having to endure this want of supplies, returned from the neighbourhood of Chester on the road to London, in order to take part in the festival of the Translation of St. Edward [October 13]. Llewelyn dogged his march for a long time, in order that if he met any stragglers from the king's army he might attack and slay them. And so the king, after wasting much treasure, returned ingloriously to his own safer clime, the object of his enemies' laughter and contempt. But among his own troops he marched in a handsome suit of armour, and spreading the royal banner he was keen in cheering on his fellow-warriors to slaughter the Welshmen, the off-scourings of humanity.

70. The Provisions of Oxford.

Translated from Latin and Norman-French of Annals of Burton, p. 446 [Rolls]. *Temp.* Henry III

1258.

It was provided that from every shire there should be lected four discreet and legal knights, who, on whatever day

the shire-court is held, should meet to hear all complaints about all misdemeanours and wrongs charged against all persons by sheriffs, bailiffs, or any others, and to make the necessary arrests in respect thereof, till the first coming of a chief justice to those parts. And that they should take sufficient surety from complainant and defendant for their appearance and submission to the law in that justice's court on his first coming. And that these four knights should have all these complaints and arrests enrolled duly and in order, this by each hundred separately by itself. And that the aforesaid justice on his first coming should be able to hear and decide these complaints under seal from every hundred. And that they should inform the sheriff that he is to bring before the justice on his next coming, on a day and at a place to be notified, all their hundred-men and bailiffs; and that every hundred-man should bring all complainants and defendants from his bailiwick, in succession, according to the pleas the justice should have thought fit to hear from that hundred; and bring too as many and such men—knights as well as other free and legal men of his bailiwick—as shall be able best to establish the truth of the matter, so that all be not disturbed together at the same time, but that as many appear as can have their case heard and decided in one day.

Also, it was provided that no knight of the shire should, by reason of exemption from serving on juries or assizes, be held excused by showing the king's charter, but that he should not be exempt as far as these provisions are concerned, which are thus ordained for the common good of all the realm.

Those chosen on the part of our lord the king.

The Lord Bishop of London; the Lord Bishop-elect of Winchester; the Lord Henry, son of the King of the Romans; the Lord John, Earl Warrenne; the Lord Guy of Lusignan; the Lord William of Valence; the Lord John, Earl of Warwick; Lord John Mansel; Brother John of Darlington; the Abbot of Westminster; the Lord Henry Wingham.

Those chosen on the part of

The Lord Bishop of Worcester; the Lord Simon, Earl of Leicester; the Lord Richard, Earl of Gloucester; the Lord Humphrey, Earl of Hereford; the Lord Roger Marshal; the Lord Roger Mortimer; the

the earls and barons. Lord John FitzGeoffrey; the Lord Hugh Bigod; the Lord Richard Gray; the Lord William Bardolf; the Lord Peter de Montfort, the Lord Hugh Despenser.

And if any of them is unable of necessity to act, the remainder shall choose any they wish in the place of the absent member to transact this business.

This the Commonalty of England swore at Oxford. We, so-and-so, make known to all men that we have sworn on the holy Gospels, and are held together by such an oath, and promise in good faith, that each of us and all together will aid one another, ourselves and our friends, against all men, doing right and undertaking nothing that we cannot without doing ill, saving faith to king and the crown. And we promise on the same oath that none of us will henceforth take from each other any land or property by which this oath can be disturbed or in any way impaired. And if any do contrary to this we will hold him our mortal foe.

This is the Oath of the Twenty-four. Each swore on the holy Gospels that he, to the honour of God and on his faith to the king, and to the profit of the realm, will ordain and treat with the sworn men aforesaid on the reformation and amendment of the state of the realm. And that he will not fail for gift, or promise, or love or hate, or fear of any, or gain or loss, loyally to act according to the tenor of the letter which the king has given for this, and his son with him.

[Next come the oaths taken by the chief justice, the chancellor, and the keepers of the king's castles; then follow the names of those sworn of the king's council and the committee of four elected by them with power to nominate a council for the approval of the twenty-four.]

Of the State of Holy Church. Be it remembered that the state of Holy Church be amended by the twenty-four elected to reform the state of the realm of England, when they shall see time and place therefor, according to the power they have to do so by the letter of the King of England.

Of the Chief Justice. Moreover that there be a justice, one or two, and what power he shall have, and that he be for no more than a year. So that at the end of the year he answer before the king and his council and his successor for his time.

[There follow similar provisions for the treasurer and the chancellor.]

The chief justice has power to amend the wrongs done by all other justices, bailiffs, earls, barons, and all others, according to the law and justice of the land. And the writs shall be pleaded, according to the law of the land, in fit and proper places. And the justice shall take nothing, save presents of bread and wine and such things, to wit, meat and drink, such as has been accustomed to be brought to the tables of great men for the day. And this shall be understood of all the king's councillors and his bailiffs. And that no bailiff, by reason of plea or of his office, take any fee, by himself or by any other, in any way. And if he be convicted, he shall be punished, and he who gives as well. And if it be fitting, the king shall give to his justice and his servants sufficient that they have no need to take anything from any one else.

Of the Power of the Justice and Bailiffs.

[The qualifications and duties of the sheriffs are next given.]

There shall be good escheators appointed. And they shall take nothing of the property of the dead, of such lands as ought to be in the king's hand. And that the escheators shall have free administration of the goods until they shall have done the king's will, if they owe him debts. And that according to the form of the Charter of Liberty. . . . And no tallage or aught else shall be taken, save such as should be by the Charter of Liberty.

Of the Escheators.

The Charter of Liberty shall be firmly kept. . . .

It is to be remembered that the twenty-four have ordained that three parliaments be held a year: the first in the octave of St. Michael, the second on the morrow of Candlemas, the third on the first day of June, to wit, three weeks before St. John's Day. To these three parliaments shall come the king's elected councillors, even if they be not summoned, to see the state of the realm and to deal with the common needs of the realm and the king likewise; and at other times likewise, when need shall be, by the king's commands.

Of the Parliaments—the Number and Manner of holding them.

So it is to be remembered that the commonalty elect

twelve good men, who shall come to the parliaments and at other times as need shall arise, when the king and his council shall command them to treat of the needs of king and kingdom. And that the commonalty shall hold as established what these twelve shall do. And that shall be done to spare the cost of the commonalty.

Fifteen shall be named by these four—to wit, by the earl marshal, the Earl of Warwick, Hugh Bigod, and John Mansel, who are elected by the twenty-four to name the aforesaid fifteen, who shall be the king's council. And they shall be confirmed by the aforesaid twenty-four, or by the greater part of them. And they shall have power to counsel the king in good faith for the government of the realm; and everything appertaining to the king and realm, and to amend and redress all the things they shall see to need redress and amendment; and over the chief justice and over all other people. And if they cannot all be present, that which the majority shall do shall be firm and established.

[At the end comes a list of the king's castles and their custodians.]

71. The Barons' Wars.

Translated from Latin of "Annals of Waverley,"
1264. p. 355 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

In this year a battle was fought between King Henry III and certain barons of the realm at Lewes, the circumstances of which we have thought right to give here briefly and summarily, in order that posterity may not be ignorant of them.

The king was relying far too much on the counsel of aliens, who made light of the great nobles of the realm, and drove them from the king's councils, in many matters ruling as they pleased. Hence arose indignation against the aliens and disturbances, as a result of which the king and leading nobility met at Oxford, and effected a settlement between them, by which they could reform evil laws; and these provisions they all swore to observe—king, earls, barons, even about a hundred of them; and the bishops took this oath, too, and excommunicated all who broke it. However, some tried to get absolution from this oath, and sent to the pope, asking not

to be held to these provisions, and so they thought that by a papal bull they would be relieved of their oath, and did not consider that it was their duty to work for the effect of these provisions to result in the common good of the realm, and that therefore no one should infringe them. Now, as a matter of fact, these provisions at first were approved by the queen, seeing that certain wild spirits of whom she disapproved were compelled to leave England; but when she understood that her fellow-countrymen were to be expelled the realm, she persuaded the king that the provisions should no longer hold; and the king, immediately listening to this persuasion, drew over to his opinion his eldest son and all others he could. Moreover, John Mansel, a clerk of the court, serving the queen's wishes to the best of his power, by entreaty or bribery, attracted some to the side of the perjured, and it was for this that he lost good name and world's gear, and died in exile The other side, who refused to turn, were indignant at this, and threatened those who had broken their oath. On the other hand, their opponents gave them no peace, but did their best to stir up feud and enmity. In short, this quarrel became so bitter that, now that the previous agreement had been violated by one side, the factions rose against each other and attacked one another most violently, looting and plundering, setting fire to the noblest palaces and razing castles to the ground. When the kingdom was in such confusion, every day some evil was brought to light, which, as some thought, could only be settled by arms; so the king got together an army and marched hurriedly to the Cinque Ports, and laid siege to three of them, in order to get a firmer hold over them, as they did seem to be ready to obey his will; and on learning this the party of the right-minded—that is to say, the ever-respected Lord Simon, Earl of Leicester, and Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, with their supporters also hastened to march to the ports. And at this news the king came with his army from the ports to Lewes.

72. The Mise of Amiens.

Translated from Latin of Thomas Wykes' Chronicle,
1264. p. 138 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

So, after frequent negotiations had been carried on between the two parties, about the feast of the Nativity, the king and all his friends and supporters, the earl and all his followers the King of the Romans, the Lord Edward, the earls, barons, knights, archbishops, bishops, all prelates of churches—nay, all the clergy and people—unanimously promised the King of France, in reference to all the disagreements that had arisen between the king and his nobles on account of the Provisions of Oxford, that whatever ordinance or decision he should make in the matter of these provisions or statutes, in high or low alike, without any exception whatever, both sides would inviolably abide by it. And in order that none should be able to clear himself of perjury or nonfulfilment of his promises, all and every one added force to the promise they made by affixing their seals thereto, and, moreover, severally swore on the consecrated relics in no way to depart from this ordinance and judgment, provided that the king gave his verdict in this matter about Easter. Now, the king on the third day of the Nativity crossed over to France, in order to be present in person at this judgment. The barons also sent Lord Adam of Newmarket and Lord William le Blunde and a few others on behalf of all of them on the same business into France. Thereupon the King of France, eager to issue his award, in order to have done with both parties and send them home, on January 23, with possibly less wisdom and utility than might be expected, with wonderful precipitancy brought out his award, and strengthened it by the authority of the pope. By his judgment he restored the King of England to his former power, and absolutely abrogated and quashed the Provisions or Statutes of Oxford, deciding that the king should choose as his justiciar, chancellor, treasurer, sheriffs, bailiffs, councillors and officers any he wished. The king therefore returned home, and in proportion to the joy he had experienced at this issue was the sorrow and confusion he caused the barons, who, violating the oath they had taken, did not blush not only

to repudiate the judgment given, but even to attack the king again, and in their usual kind of rioting to get men together, and waste provinces, and harry their opponents more violently than ever.

73. The Battle of Lewes: A Royalist Account.

Translated from Latin of Thomas Wykes' Chronicle, p. 149 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

264. The King of England, trusting in the number of his supporters, and despising the scanty forces of the enemy, under the idea that they would not venture to attack him, was so ill advised as to command all and every one of them to renew their homage to him and his brother, King of the Romans; but the earl and his supporters were so indignant at this that they at once renounced their fealty and homage to the king; and on May 14, on the Wednesday next before the feast of St. Dunstan, the recreants, with unparalleled wickedness, prepared to do battle with their king, and at daybreak put their squadrons in position, and drew up their lines for battle. The royalists were ignorant of their movements. It might be thought the enemy expected to take them in their beds, for they made their way under cover of thick woods, and with standards spread marched under the earl's command to the slope of a hill adjacent to the neighbouring town of Lewes, where the king, in great alarm, at that time lay; but some of the royalists were aroused and, observing the standards, gave the alarm to the king and all his army, then in their beds asleep; and they, rising in amazement, with all speed, as best they could, armed themselves and went out to meet this unrighteous host. Straightway the bugles sounded, and the hostile armies, with fierce looks, charged one another. But the earl was careful to secure that the whole weight of the fight was centred against the King of England and the King of the Romans, who were in command of the whole army. However, the Lord Edward, who had under him the flower of the army, left his father and uncle, and with all the troops in his command went against the Londoners, against whom he had a special grudge, in order thus to avenge not only his own, but his father's and his mother's wrongs.

The large body of Londoners, inexperienced in war, were under the leadership of Henry Hastings, who was one of the first to let his terror get the better of his bravery, and fled from the field; and they thought it safer to trust to the chance of flight than to wait for the hazardous fortune of war. And so they left the Earl of Leicester's horse-litter, on which, if I may say so, he had somewhat dishonourably planted his standard, in order that he might be thought to be resting in it, as though disabled or sick; and in it he had put some citizens of London—namely, Augustin of Hadestock, Richard Pickard, and Stephen of Chelmsford, who, in order not to appear disloyal, refused to don breastplate against our lord the king—in order that he might expose them as cowards or traitors, and so make victims of them; and when they saw the Lord Edward with his troopers boldly making for them with drawn swords, and observed how inferior they were to him, they straightway turned their backs and, following the aforementioned Henry at full gallop, staked their safety absolutely on flight. But the Lord Edward, after most cruelly butchering those who had been put in the horse-litter, did not hesitate to pursue the rest of the fugitives at the top of his speed; and all he could reach by riding after them at the gallop he slew at the point of the sword, and after sating his blade with their blood—not to his contentment, however—he returned to the battle so exhausted by hard riding—as, indeed, were also his followers in the pursuit, horses and all—as scarcely to be able to breathe. Meanwhile the King of England and the King of the Romans, whom he had left to themselves, were surrounded by far superior numbers, and when, after a stubborn tussle, they were no longer strong enough to resist the attacks of the surrounding foe, they took refuge in the conventual church, and, sad to tell, were compelled to surrender to the recreants, who, they supposed, would assuredly come dutifully to their aid to prevent them from being killed. And after their capture all who fled into the town threw down their arms so as to share in the misfortune of the kings, and without striking another blow, surrendered of their own accord to the same captors. Even the Lord Edward, along with his kinsman, the Lord Henry, eldest son of the King of

the Romans, was so overcome with weariness that he was able to fight no further, and seeing that there was no one left to help him, he did not blush to share his father's fortune.

74. The Battle of Lewes: A Baronial Account.

Translated from Latin of "Annals of Waverley,"
1264. p. 356 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

The king came from the Cinque Ports to Lewes with an army of nearly 60,000 fighting men; and on the better side [*i.e.*, the baronial] there were 50,000 men, under vigorous leaders, but for the most part quite young. They were joined by the Londoners, who, however, had very little experience in fighting; for at the first sight of it they turned to flight. Now, the baronial party wrote to the king that they would gladly serve him: but the king wrote back, without the usual courtesies, and informed them that he was quite indifferent as to their service, but that he reckoned them his enemies and defied them as public foes. Also Edward, the king's eldest son, and his uncle, Richard, formerly called King of the Romans, informed them that they would destroy their property and lives and their friends' as well. The baronial party were saddened at this, for they were anxious for peace and made many offers to secure it; but they were all rejected with scorn by the king's councillors, who threatened to ruin the barons utterly. Since, therefore, they could obtain peace neither by their offers nor by their emissaries, they prepared for war, and ascending the slope of a hill, they looked down on to the town in which their enemy lay, and would have taken them in their beds, but were prevented from doing so by the chivalry of some among them. For these said: "Let us await them here and give them time to get up; for if we attacked them in their sleep, we should do ourselves dishonour." So while they awaited them, they made some new knights, and drew up their men in position, till they saw the enemy approaching

Right at the beginning of the fight the Londoners took to flight, and were pursued by Edward with a numerous following

of knights, by whom a great number of the fugitives were slain. Meanwhile, however, the king was captured; for while his followers were intent on booty—horses, armour, and so forth—the king was overpowered, along with some great nobles; but most of these took to flight and left their lord on the field. Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, took the king captive, for the king then held him as a greater and more powerful noble than the others, and gave him his sword in token of surrender; and this was because the Lord Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was high in his displeasure. However, it was to this earl that the best men on that side surrendered. After this had taken place, Edward, ceasing his pursuit of the Londoners, returned, thinking that he and his followers had gained a victory; but he was met by the victors, who had now set fire to the town, and though at sight of them Edward's men tried to escape, yet most of them were slain and many knights got into the priory, changing their armour for cassocks. Edward also, followed by numbers of his men, threw himself into the church of the Franciscans. Some, too, in fleeing by a bridge hindered each other's flight, so that many crowded together and were drowned; those who did escape hastened oversea. The number of those slain in the battle amounted to nearly 3000 gallant men, not counting those slain before the fight nor those drowned. This battle took place on May 14.

75. The Destruction of Llewelyn's Principality.

From the translation of the Welsh "Brut-y-Tywysogion," p. 365 [Rolls]. Probably contemporary.

1276–1277.

The Lord Llewelyn sent frequent messengers to the court of the king about forming a peace between them, but he did not succeed. And at length, about the feast of Candlemas [February 2] the king appointed a council at Worcester, and there he designed three armies against Wales: one for Caerleon [Chester], and himself to lead it; another for Castle Baldwin [Montgomery], led by the Earl of Lincoln and Roger Mortimer. Griffith, son of Gwenwynwyn, had fixed upon them to reconquer his territory, which he had previously lost

by refusing Cydewain and Ceri [Kerry] and Gwerthrynion and Builth to the king. And then the Earl of Hereford got possession of Brecheinog [Brecon]. The third army he sent to Caermarthen and Ceredigion [Cardigan], led by Payne, son of Patrick de Saye.

The ensuing year [1277] the earl of Lincoln and Roger Mortimer besieged the castle of Dolvorwyn, and at the end of a fortnight they obtained it, through want of water. Then Rhys-ap-Meredith . . . became reconciled to Payne, son of Patrick. Llewelyn his brother and Howel and Rhys the Hoarse quitted their territory, and went to Gwynedd to Llewelyn; Rhys-ap-Maelgwn went to Roger Mortimer, and made submission to the king by the hand of Roger. And last of all, from South Wales, Griffith and Cynan, the sons of Meredith, son of Owen, son of Gryffith, son of the Lord Rhys, and Llewelyn, son of Owen, his nephew, became reconciled to the king. And thus all South Wales became subjected to the king. [Payne of Chaworth had the like success in Cardiganshire.] . . . The same year, on the feast of St. James the Apostle [July 25], Edmund, the king's brother, came with an army to Llanbadarn, and began to build a castle at Aberystwyth. And then the king, having his force with him, came to the midland district, and fortified a court at Flint, surrounded with vast dykes, and there he tarried some time. That year, the Saturday after August, Rhys-ap-Maelgwn retired to Gwynedd to Llewelyn, for fear of being taken by the English, who were at Llanbadarn; and thereupon the English took possession of his whole territory. And along with him the men of Genau y Glyn all retreated to Gwynedd, leaving the whole of their corn and land waste. . . . That year, in the beginning of harvest, the king sent a great part of his army into Mona [Anglesey], which burned much of the country and took away much of the corn. And on the calends of winter after that Llewelyn came to the king at Rhuddlan, and made his peace with him. . . .

76. Edward in Wales.

1277. Translated from Latin of "Annals of Winchester," p. 124 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

In this year, in the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul [June 29], our lord King Edward set out for Wales, and on the eleventh of July he is reported to have marched out of Chester with his whole army towards Snowdon, establishing his exchequer at Shrewsbury. After lengthy negotiations for peace, Llewelyn came in on the feast of St. Martin [November 11], and submitted to our lord the king's pleasure and mercy at Rhuddlan, and, for his undutiful conduct and the losses and wrong done to the king and his subjects, he gave as the price of peace £50,000 sterling.

77. Earl Warenne and Quo Warranto.

1278. Translated from Latin of Walter of Hemingburgh, ii. p. 5. Died after 1313.

Shortly afterwards the king disturbed some of the nobles of the realm by wishing to know, through his justices, on what warrant they held their lands; and if they had no good warrant to show, he immediately seized their estates. Among the others Earl Warenne was summoned before the king's justices, and was asked by what warrant he held. He thereupon produced in court an ancient rusty sword, and said: "See, sirs, see, here is my warrant. For my ancestors came across with William the Norman, and conquered their lands with the sword, and with the sword shall I defend them against whosoever wishes to take them from me. For the king did not win and subject the land by himself, but our ancestors took a share with him and helped."

78. The Statute of Mortmain.

1279. Translated from Latin of "Statutes of the Realm," i. 51.

The king to his justices of the bench, greeting.

Whereas some time since it was provided that men of religion should not enter into the fees of any, without the permission and consent of the lords-in-chief, of whom those fees were held in mesne, and since then men of religion have

none the less even up to the present time entered upon not only their own fees, but those of others, by appropriation, purchase, and sometimes free gift, whereby the services due from fees of this kind, originally provided for the defence of the realm, are unduly withdrawn, and the tenants-in-chief lose their escheats therefrom; we, therefore, desiring that a fitting remedy be provided for this, to the advantage of the realm, on the advice of our prelates, earls, and other lieges of our realm, members of our council, have provided, decreed, and ordained that no man of religion or any one else shall presume to buy or sell any lands or holdings, or under pretext of deed of gift or lease, or any other title whatsoever, receive such from any one or become their owner in any way whatever by device or subtlety, under penalty of forfeiture of the same, if thereby such lands and holdings come in any way into dead hand [*ad manum mortuam*]. We have provided also that if any person, a man of religion or other, shall have presumed to transgress this present statute in any way, by device or subtlety, it shall be lawful for us and other immediate lords-in-chief of a fee so alienated, within a year from the date of such alienation, to enter upon its possession and to hold it in fee and heritage. And if an immediate lord-in-chief shall have been negligent, and refused to enter on possession of such a fee within the year, then it shall be lawful for the next mesne lord-in-chief of that fee, within the next six months, to enter on its possessions and hold, as set forth above; and any mesne lord shall do this if the more immediate lord shall have been negligent in entering upon such a fee. And if all the lords-in-chief of such a fee, provided they be of age, in England and not in custody shall have been for the space of one year negligent or remiss in this respect, we, after a complete year from the date of such purchases, donations or other methods of ownership, will take such lands and holdings into our own hands, and will enfeoff others with them on fixed services to be rendered to us therefrom, for the defence of our realm; always saving to the lords-in-chief of those fees, their wardships, escheats, and other appurtenances thereof, together with the services due and accustomed therefrom. Therefore we command you to have he aforesaid statute read in your court, and henceforth strictly

kept and observed. Witness the king's hand at Westminster, the fifteenth day of November in the seventh year of our reign.

79. The Conquest of Wales.

Translated from Latin of Thomas Wykes Chronicle, p. 287 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

1281–1282.

In the year 1281, about the feast of the Annunciation [March 25], Llewelyn, the disturber of the peace made between himself and the King of England, instigated by his brother David, began to attack Flint and Rhuddlan Castles, and to waste the surrounding country. And when this came to the king's ears, who was at that time at Devizes, holding Easter, he sent some few troops to those parts to drive back the wretched Welsh raiders, and defend the castles till the king could take proper measures. At length he summoned the nobles of the realm together and held a Parliament at Worcester on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [June 24], and it was there arranged that all the magnates of the realm should meet the king with horses and arms on the feast of St. Peter in Chains, on the Welsh border. Meanwhile David and his accomplices mortally wounded and took prisoner Lord Roger Clifford, after cruelly slaying many of his people.

The king, gathering an army, took vengeance on Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, by most cruelly laying waste his lands. One day, too, some of the king's men left the main body, and by way of taking vengeance on Llewelyn were intently plundering at an unwise distance, when the Welsh burst out from an ambush in the woods and from the marshes and began to attack the English, who were but few in comparison with themselves; and in this fight were slain the son of Lord William of Valence, the king's uncle, and Lord Richard d'Argentein; many were barbarously killed, and the others with difficulty escaped by flight. The king stayed in the neighbourhood of Rhuddlan till the feast of All Saints [November 1], and the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent to Llewelyn in Snowdon to warn him and persuade him to keep the peace with the king, under which he chafed, and which he

absolutely refused to keep; but he could not be induced to come to terms. Meanwhile, while the archbishop was spending three days in Snowdon, the royal leaders imperceptibly but gradually entered Snowdon, thinking that they could seize it in force by treachery; but the Welsh were forewarned and came to meet them, and at the first attack compelled them to flee; and the fugitives, thinking to save themselves by crossing some river, not knowing the ford, were drowned in large numbers—the more famous being Luke of Tany, William of Dodingeseles, and William la Zuche, while the others escaped only with the greatest difficulty. When the archbishop withdrew and came back to the king he excommunicated Llewelyn, the perjured disturber of the peace, his brother David, and all their accomplices and abettors. All this took place about St. Leonard's Day [November 6]. About the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle [December 21], as Llewelyn was coming down from Snowdon with a small following, on some unknown business, he was met unexpectedly by Edmund Mortimer with a small escort, and slain with his accomplices, who were unable to take to flight. The head of the prince, whom he recognised among the slain, Edmund cut off and brought to the king. The king had the head taken to London in triumph, and fixed on a spear above the Tower of London as a token of his splendid victory. The King of England for this Welsh war took a scutage of forty shillings from his whole realm.

Encouraged by his success, the King of England had a suitable road laid open for him, and entered Snowdon in triumph, and kept Easter there in a Cistercian monastery called Aberconway, disposing of the whole of the principality of Wales at his pleasure, with the exception of the castle which in their language is called Bere, and which is surrounded by an impassable marsh, having difficult and very narrow entries and exits by a single road most ingeniously made. Into it, after his brother's death, David had thrown a garrison, while he himself was lying hid in the woods and practically inaccessible places. But the king besieged the castle, and so closely beset the garrison that, under the compulsion of necessity, they were compelled to surrender the castle to him;

and on obtaining possession of it he made a bargain with some Welshmen that they should take David from his hiding-place and surrender him to the king as a prisoner; and the king sent him, with his wife and son, to Rhuddlan, and there imprisoned him and loaded him with fetters. And when Rhys Vychan [the little] heard what had happened, he surrendered himself and his followers to Lord Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; and he forthwith sent them to the king, and the king to London, with orders that he should be put in the Tower and most strictly guarded. . . .

About the feast of St. Michael [September 29] the king summoned to Shrewsbury the chief men of his realm and the best counsellors, both from among the burgesses and the magnates, and had David brought thither—who had been kept in captivity at Rhuddlan—to submit to the punishment demanded by his crime, and it was there decided that he should be hanged, drawn and quartered. His head was carried off to London to be set on the Tower of London, next to the head of his brother Llewelyn.

80. Bull authorising Marriage of Prince Edward and Margaret of Scotland.

Translated from Latin of copy printed in Stevenson's "Documents Illustrative of Scottish History," i. 111.

1289.

Nicholas the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son Edward, son of our most dear son in Christ, Edward, King of England, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Your petition to us showed that, on account of the proximity of the realms of England and Scotland, divers scandals and bitter hatreds have hitherto arisen between these realms and their kings, and that hence is known to have happened some danger to property and lives.

And so, since the King of Scotland of illustrious memory has entered upon the way of all flesh, leaving no male heir, and since our dear daughter in Christ, Margaret, child of our well-beloved son Eric, King of Norway, granddaughter of the King of Scotland, succeeds him in the realm of Scotland, it is honestly felt that, if the realm should come into the hands of

another by a marriage concluded with Margaret, scandals and bitter hatreds of this kind could easily arise, and even worse dangers ensue.

Accordingly, to avoid dangers of this kind, and to settle and forget these scandals and bitter hatreds, and to create and nourish the advantages of true peace and affection between these realms and their peoples, you desire to be united in matrimony with the said Margaret; but because, owing to the hindrance of the third degree of consanguinity . . . this cannot lawfully be done, you have humbly begged herein the licence of the Apostolic See.

We, therefore, desiring in these realms and everywhere else the peace and harmony of the children of God and of the Roman Church, and giving thereto all our possible care; hoping also that from this marriage, if it takes place, God may grant the greatest prosperity and advantage to these realms and drive them from the darkness of hatred; reflecting, too, that if the king, your father, should, in fulfilment of his vow, go to the help of the Holy Land, the marriage of Margaret to any one else might prove the ruin of the king himself, his realm, you, and by consequence the affairs of the Holy Land; considering, moreover, that out of such a marriage between you and Margaret, no scandals are feared by any one; moved by these and other such worthy considerations, we assent to your supplications; we grant of our special grace and apostolic authority a dispensation to you and Margaret that—notwithstanding the impediment of such consanguinity—you may lawfully contract this marriage. . . . Given at Rome . . . Nov. 16 in the second year of our pontificate.

81. The Statute of Quia Emptores.

1290. Translated from Latin of "Statutes of the Realm," I. 106.

Forasmuch as purchasers of lands and holdings, carved out of the fees of magnates and others, have often in times past, to the prejudice of such magnates, entered into possession of their fees, seeing that the free tenants of the latter have sold these purchasers their lands and holdings to be held in fee by

them and their heirs, of the immediate feoffors, and not of the lords-in-chief of their fees; whereby these lords-in-chief have often lost the escheats, rights of marriage, and wardships of lands and holdings depending on their fees, which indeed these magnates and other lords thought very hard and unfair, and likewise in this case clear disinheritance; therefore our lord the king in his parliament holden at Westminster after Easter, within the fortnight after the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the eighteenth year of his reign, at the urgent request of the magnates of his realm, did grant, provide and ordain that henceforth it be lawful for every free man to sell his land or holding or a portion thereof, at his goodwill and pleasure, but always on condition that the feoffee hold that land or holding from the same lord-in chief and by the same services and customs as his feoffor held them previously. And if he shall have sold any part of the same lands or holdings to any one, the feoffee shall hold them immediately of the lord-in-chief, and shall be at once liable for such service as belongs or should belong to that lord for that portion, according to the amount of land or holding sold; and so in this case there shall fall away from the lord-in-chief that part of the service to be performed by the feoffor, from the time when the feoffee ought to be personally liable and responsible to the lord-in-chief for that portion of service thus due, according to the amount of land or holding sold. And it is to be noted that by the aforesaid sales or purchases of lands or holdings, or of any part thereof, those lands or holdings are in no way capable, in whole or in part, of coming into dead hand, by subtlety or device, contrary to the statute published some time since in reference thereto. And it is to be noted that that statute concerning lands sold only holds good in the case of those holding in fee-simple, and that it extends to future time; and it shall begin to take effect on the feast of St. Andrew next ensuing [November 30].

82. King Edward and Scottish Independence.

1290. Translated from French of letter printed in Stevenson's "Historical Documents of Scotland," i. 162.

[Letter wherein Edward, King of England, guaranteed to the commonalty of the realm of Scotland all laws and customs holding in that

realm, if a marriage should take place between his son and the Maid of Norway, heiress of Scotland.]

To all persons who shall see or hear this letter, Edward, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Guyenne, greeting in God.

Whereas we lately sent into Scotland the honourable fathers in God Anthony and Ralph, Bishops, by the grace of God, of Durham and Carlisle, and our noble lieges John, Earl Warenne, Henry, Earl of Lincoln, William de Vescy, and Master Henry of Newark, Dean of York, our special messengers and proctors, who should in our name concede and grant certain things to the guardians, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and all the community of the same realm, if the things thus granted were pleasing to us and our council; and the aforesaid great men and the community of Scotland for this and other matters sent us the honourable father Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Glasgow, and the noble peer Sir John Comyn, guardians of the realm of Scotland, and the honourable Father Alan, by the same grace of God Bishop of Caithness, as their special messengers and proctors;

We, having been informed and advised on the things aforesaid, granted by our messengers, and considering and weighing the love and affection which the people of the aforesaid realm have for us and our son and heir, Edward, have confirmed and established the deed and grant of our messengers aforesaid, as word for word is written beneath as follows:

[Here follows the text of the Treaty of Brigham (July 18) in the form of a proclamation issued by the English commissioners named above, stating the grants they have made. We proceed to give here the last clause of that treaty and the rest of the covering confirmation, made at Northampton, on August 28.]

"In addition, we grant and promise, in the name of our lord the king, that he will, at his own charges and trouble, secure the confirmation of this present treaty in all its clauses by the pope within a year of the betrothal of the aforesaid Edward and Margaret, and within the same time its fulfilment by the community of the realm of Scotland. But if he shall not be able to do this within the year, he will secure that it shall be done as soon as possible, so that the

matter be completed; and if he do not do this in his own lifetime his heirs shall be bound thereto in all good faith.

"And we affirm by these present letters that all the above matters are to be understood that nothing be in any way taken from or added to the rights of either realm by reason of what is now being done, nor of either of the kings of those realms to the prejudice of the free holding of their estates. In witness and full testimony of all the matters aforesaid, we have set our seals to this present document.

"Given at Brigham, on the Tuesday before the feast of St. Margaret, July 18, in the year of our Lord 1290."

And because the King of England has ratified and confirmed the matters stated above by another document of the same import, sealed with his seal and delivered to us, Robert of Glasgow and Alan of Caithness, by the grace of God bishops, and John Comyn, messengers and proctors of Scotland aforesaid, and for the better remembrance of his act, wishes to have the import of his writing sealed with our seals, we have put our seals to this letter, containing in French the whole import of the king's other letter, which we have in Latin.

Done and given at Northampton, the twenty-eighth day of August, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1290.

83. Historical Evidence for Scottish Affairs.

Translated from Privy Seals 19 Edward I. in Public Record Office. [Printed in Stevenson's "Historical Documents of Scotland," i. 222.]

1291. The king, &c., to his well-beloved in Christ, the prior and convent of Chester, greeting.

Whereas we lately commanded you diligently to examine your chronicles, registers, and every other secret document you possess, of whatever nature, in any way touching or respecting the history of the realms of England and Scotland, or of either of them, or of the kings and nobles of those realms, and to send to us by one of your body an exact copy of what you found, under your common seal; and whereas you have not yet given us this information, we ask

you, as we have asked others, most carefully to examine the said chronicles, registers, and other secret documents you possess, recent as well as ancient, of whatever kind or date, touching the said realms or those formerly connected with them in any way, and immediately without delay inform us as to what you have found, under cover of your common seal, by our well-beloved clerk, Adam of Osgotby, the bearer of these present letters.

Given under our privy seal at Repton, March 21, in the nineteenth year of our reign.

84. Edward's Claim to the Scottish Overlordship.

Translated from Latin of Nicholas Trivet,
1291. p. 319. Contemporary.

In the same year the King of England marched towards Scotland, and after Easter held a parliament at Norham, where, after consulting the prelates and the civil and canon lawyers and examining the annals of earlier times, he had the prelates and magnates of Scotland summoned before him; and in their presence in the parish church of Norham he faithfully declared his right and overlordship to the kingdom of Scotland; and he requested them to recognise this, maintaining that he would defend the right of his crown to the death.

Accordingly, he was recognised as overlord of Scotland by all the claimants to the Scottish crown in letters then drawn up and sealed with their seals. These letters, written in French, were to the following effect.

[See next extract.]

85. The Scottish Claimants' Submission to Edward I.

Translated from the French of Rymer,
1291. "Fœdera," i. 755.

We, Florence, Earl of Holland; Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale; John Baliol, Lord of Galloway; John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny; John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch;

Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March; John Vescy, for his father, Nicholas Soules; and William Ros, greeting in the Lord.

Whereas we believe we have a right to the kingdom of Scotland, and intend to declare, challenge, and aver the same before him who has most power, jurisdiction, and reason to try it; and the noble Prince Edward, by grace of God King of England, having informed us with good and sufficient reasons that to him belongs the sovereign lordship of the land;

We therefore promise that we will maintain his decision, and that he shall enjoy the realm to whom it shall be adjudged before him.

In witness whereof we have here set our seals in this writing, made and granted at Norham, the Tuesday after the feast of the Ascension in the year of grace 1291.

86. John Baliol's Repudiation of Allegiance.

1295. From Latin of Rymer, "Fœdera," i. 807.

To the high and puissant prince, the Lord Edward, by the grace of God King of England, John, by the same grace King of Scotland, greeting.

Whereas you and those of your realm, as you well know, or should know, by force and violence, have often notoriously inflicted upon us and the inhabitants of our realm grievous—nay, intolerable—wrongs, insults and burdens, and, furthermore, incalculable loss against the liberties of us and of our realm, and against God and justice, by summoning us out of our realm on every slight pretext at your whim and pleasure; by unduly troubling us; by occupying our castles, lands and possessions, and those of our subjects within our realm, without fault on our part; by harrying our property and our subjects' property by land and sea, and receiving it within your realm; by putting to death merchants and other inhabitants of our realm; and by forcibly abducting our subjects from our realm, and detaining and imprisoning them in England.

And whereas to remedy these matters we have often sent you our envoys, and these grievances not only still remain unamended, but even daily increase by the action of you and yours, and get worse than before;

And whereas now you have publicly gathered together your army, and with a huge force, in order to disinherit us and the inhabitants of our realm, you have marched as an enemy to the borders of our realm, and, proceeding beyond them, have in our realm barbarously spread fire and sword, with violent invasion and attack by land and sea;

We, therefore, able no longer to endure these wrongs insults and grievances, these losses and hostile attacks, by remaining in your allegiance and homage, albeit they were extorted from us by violence and compulsion, are minded to rise against you in defence of ourselves and our realm, to whose defence and safety we are bound by a solemn oath; and all allegiance and homage, both from ourselves and from all faithful subjects of our realm. . . . we renounce by these present letters.

87. The Difficulties of the Scottish War.

Translated from French of letters, probably from Hugh Cressingham to Edward I., printed in Stevenson's "Historical Documents, Scotland," ii. 200, 206.

1297.

. . . Sire, before your letter reached me, I had been at Bolton Moor, in the county of Northumberland, by the advice of your council, which at that time was at Berwick, and the knights of Earl Warenne, your guardian of Scotland—that is to say, on July 10, when the best men of the county came to meet me, and we decided to make an expedition against the enemy on the Thursday before the feast of St. Margaret [July 18], should the host come to Roxburgh on the preceding Tuesday. And the muster was held on the Wednesday, and we numbered 300 horse and 10,000 foot. And on the Thursday we would have made our expedition, had it not been for Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford, who came to the said town on the Wednesday evening and informed those of your people who were there that they had received all the enemy this side of the Scottish sea into your peace; and it was urged, in answer to them, that, although peace had been made on this side, yet it might be well to march against the

enemy on the farther side of the Scottish sea, if they saw that it was necessary, or that an attack should be made upon William Wallace, who lay with a large company at that time (and does so still) in the forest of Selkirk, like one who holds himself against your peace. Whereupon it was decided that no expedition should be made till the earl should arrive; and so matters have gone to sleep, and each of us returned to his own place.

. . . Sire, if it be to your pleasure, do not take it ill that I have so long detained your messenger, for verily I have been much discomfited that I could not make report of better news. And I detain William of Ledbury, your other messenger, by your leave, by whom I will let you know better news after the earl's arrival, if God will. Sire, may God save and keep your noble lordship, and increase your honours.

Written at Berwick-on-Tweed, the twenty-third day of July.

88. The Battle of Falkirk.

Translated from Latin of Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 191. *Temp.* Edward I.

1298.

The Scots, hearing of this sudden and unhoped-for retreat, proceeded after Easter [April 6] to lay siege with all their strength to the Scottish castles at that time in English possession, and under stress of famine in the castles, they occupied them all with the exception of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick and a few others; and after promising the English, on the surrender of the castles, a safe return to their own country, William Wallace broke faith with them.

Meanwhile, a truce being made between the Kings of France and England, the latter returned to England, and learning how the Scots had risen in his absence, he got together an army and marched towards Scotland. On entering the country he marched through some of it.

Now, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene [July 22] the Scots met him at Falkirk, in full strength, under the leadership of William Wallace. As usual, they relied chiefly on their pikemen, whom they put in the front rank. But the English heavy-armed cavalry, of which the army was largely

composed, surrounded them on all sides and rode through them. As the Scottish cavalry quickly fled, the pikemen and infantry who stood their ground valiantly were slain, to the number of 60,000, or, as others say, 80,000, or others, again, 100,000. There was not a man of noble birth slain on the English side, with the exception of the Master of the Templars and five or six squires, and he had been rash in forcing his way into the Scottish wedge. So now that the foes of king and kingdom were utterly defeated the English army marched to the Firth of Forth by one route and returned by another, destroying what the Scots had previously sent thither.

89. A Sea-Fight between English and Normans.

Translated from Latin of Bartholomew Cotton,
1293. p. 227 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

In the year of grace 1293 English seamen came together in great numbers to attack the seamen of Normandy and to defend themselves from them, in order that they might boldly sail the seas in pursuit of their business and trade. And although the Englishmen were very numerous, yet, owing to a storm, they all made for places of safety with the exception of seventy-four ships which remained at sea; and then the Normans, on June 13, in great pride and with large numbers of armed men and 180 ships, with the wind in their favour, approached the seamen of England and Bayonne. But, the wind shifting to the opposite quarter, the seamen of England and Bayonne closed with the Normans, and although they were so few to fight such superior numbers, yet they gained a famous and almost miraculous victory over them, setting fire to some of their ships, sinking others, and capturing yet others. Some of the enemy fled and came to land, but were slain by the English and men of Bayonne who were there.

90. Confiscation of Gascony by the French King.

Translated from Latin of Bartholomew Cotton,
1293. p. 233 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

[Making the fights between the seamen of the two nations and the alleged ill-treatment of appellants by the English seneschal of Gascony a pretext for intervention, Philip IV. had summoned Edward I. to

Paris to answer for the behaviour of the Gascons to his feudal superior—Philip himself. As the outcome of negotiations, including a proposal that Edward should marry Philip's sister, Blanche, conducted by his brother Edmund and the French queens, Edward had made a purely formal resignation of his French territories to Philip, pending a satisfactory arrangement.]

In the same year, before Easter, the King of England was informed that the French king's sister, Blanche, refused to have him as a husband, and that he would be treacherously entrapped if he went to the meeting at Amiens; and this was clearly proved to be true by subsequent evidence; so the king did not go to the meeting at Amiens.

In the same year Philip, King of France, enraged because the King of England did not come to the meeting at Amiens, and because his treachery had been foreseen and had therefore no result, returned to Paris. There he called a parliament, and, seeing that he had the king's lands in his hands, and that the whole power of the realm of England lay outside Gascony and the King of England's other land, he broke his word of honour and promise about restoring to the King of England his lands after forty days, and had him deprived of Gascony and all the lands then in his hands; and he actually had a proclamation made for his capture, wherever he should be found, as an enemy of the King of France and the whole French state.

In the same year, after the feast of the Ascension, our lord the king held a parliament at London, which lasted several days, and in it permission was given and arrangements were made that the king should cross the sea with his army to recover and defend his lands then in the power of the King of France; and the men of the ports and other mariners were empowered to guard the sea or capture their enemies passing oversea, together with all the shipping of Sluys and Flanders, even as far as Gascony.

91. A National Appeal against France.

1295. Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Fœdera," i. p 827.

Edward, by the grace of God King of England, &c.

As a most just law, established by the provident care of the emperors, urges and ordains that what concerns all should be

approved by all, so also it evidently appears that common dangers should be met by remedies provided in common.

You are doubtless aware that the King of France has with fraud and chicanery tricked us out of our land of Gascony, shamelessly withholding it from us; but now, not content with this trickery and shamelessness, he has collected a huge fleet and innumerable soldiers to attack our realm, with whom he has now invaded our realm and its people, and he proposes to blot out the English tongue from off the face of the earth. Because, therefore, weapons foreseen do little hurt, and you and the rest of your fellows of this realm are herein especially concerned, we order you, in the fealty and affection whereby you are bound to us, and strictly enjoin you on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin [Nov. 11] in the ensuing winter, to be present in person at Westminster; and you are to warn the prior and chapter of your church, the archdeacon and all the clergy of your diocese, and to cause the said prior and archdeacon in person, and the chapter through one representative, and the clergy through two fit proctors, with full and sufficient power from the said chapter and clergy, by every means possible, to be then present there with you, to consider, ordain and arrange with us and the rest of the prelates and nobles, and the other inhabitants of our realm, how to avoid these dangers and malicious plots.

92. The King, the Archbishop, and the Clergy.

Translated from Latin of Bartholomew Cotton,
1296. p. 322 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

In the same year, at mid-Lent, there met together at London the Lord Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, the religious and the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury, and after several discussions on several days, the lord archbishop came to the conclusion that they could in no way make a contribution to the king, by reason of the pope's edict, without incurring excommunication; but nearly all the other bishops, religious and clergy were of opinion that a contribution should be made to our lord the king, for they maintained that the necessity constraining them excused them

from the excommunication decreed in the edict, because otherwise they would have to die of hunger and want or be dispersed. For it was said that our lord the king had made a statute at Salisbury to the effect that unless churchmen obtained his peace and protection by the following Easter, all Church tenements, whether incorporated with churches or conferred in any other way, would be for ever forfeited, together with all property there found. And all the same, those who did not obtain his peace and protection would still remain outside them. The lord archbishop followed the dictates of his conscience in his wish to make no contribution to our lord the king; however, he permitted all the others, without incurring any penalty through him, to follow their own consciences. Accordingly, nearly all of them, higher and lower alike, personally or through their friends or their proctors, obtained our lord the king's peace and protection by giving a fifth of their revenues, in accordance with the assessment of the Earls of Lincoln and Winchester, and so departed from London, after receiving back their property and tenements. But the tenements and property of the archbishop and of those who did not make their peace remained in the hands of our lord the king, and after the following Easter he did with them according to his pleasure.

93. The Barons and Service Oversea.

Translated from the Latin of Walter of Hemingburgh,
1297. ii. p. 121. Died after 1313.

On the feast of St. Matthew [Sept. 21], in the same year, the king held a parliament of the magnates of the realm, without the clergy, at Salisbury, and there asked certain nobles to cross to Gascony, and one by one they began to excuse themselves. The king, in great indignation, thereupon threatened some of them that they should either go or that he would give their lands to others who would go. At this many were checked, and dissension began to arise among them. However, the Earl of Hereford and the earl marshal excused themselves on the plea that they would willingly fulfil the duties of their hereditary offices by accompanying the king

himself. When the earl marshal was again pressed to go, he replied: "Willingly, my liege, will I go with you, marching in front of you in the first line, as my hereditary right requires." "But," said the king, "you shall go even without me along with the others." "I am not bound to do so," replied the earl, "and, my liege, I am not minded to go without you." It is said that the king hereupon broke out into these angry words: "By God, sir earl, you shall either go or hang!" "By the same oath, my liege," replied the earl, "I shall neither go nor hang." Then, without obtaining leave, he withdrew from court, and the council was dissolved indefinitely.

Immediately the two earls, Hereford and the marshal, were joined by many nobles and more than thirty chosen knights with banners, and soon had a great host under them, amounting to 1,500 men, mounted and equipped for war; so that the king began to be alarmed, but concealed his fears. However, the earls went to their estates, and refused to allow the king's servants to take wool or hides or anything else of a special nature, or to exact anything from them without their consent. They even forbade them to enter on their estates at all, under penalty of life and limb, and meanwhile prepared for resistance.

84. The King's Apology for Taxation.

1297. Translated from French of Patent Roll 25 Edward I.

Whereas the king always desires the peace, quiet, and welfare of his people and realm . . . he makes known and wills that all should know the truth of what follows.

Lately, when a great number of experienced soldiers of England—some upon request, others by summons of the king—came to London, his majesty being willing to provide for their discharge and the settling of their expenses, and that they might know what they were to perform, sent to the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, as constable and marshal of England, to attend him for that purpose.

[The earls refused to come, and the king professes not to know the reason.]

Yet they never came; and now it is said that the earls offered to the king certain articles for the common profit of the people, and that he utterly refused them, of which the king knows nothing, for they never propounded, nor caused to be propounded, anything to him, nor doth he know why they are retired; amongst which articles, it is reported, there were certain grievances, which the king understands well, as the aids which he often demanded of the people, on account of his wars in Gascony, Wales, Scotland, and other places, which could not be maintained, or his realm defended, without the assistance of his people; whereof he thinks often, that he should so grieve and burden them, and prays that they would have him excused; and, if it please God to give him leave to return from his voyage, he would have all men know that, according to his great desire and the will of God, and to the satisfaction of his people, he will amend all things whatever, as he ought. And if he do not return, he will order his heir to do it as if he had returned himself; for he knows well that no man is so much bound to the realm or to love the people as he himself.

But, on the other hand, there is great necessity for his going to assist his ally the Count of Flanders; and his going over is of that immediate consequence on account of the danger in which his friends from oversea are, so that if he should lose them the realm might be in great jeopardy. And therefore the people should have a confirmation of the Great Charter of the liberties of England, and of the Charter of the Forest, if they would grant him an aid or gift, such as was necessary for him at this time, and the more so because upon his going over a lasting peace might ensue. . . Given at Odimer, the twelfth day of August.

95. De Tallagio Non Concedendo.

Translated from Latin of Walter de Hemingburgh, ii. 153. Died after 1313.

1297. I. No tallage or aid shall henceforth be imposed or levied in our realm by us or our heirs, without the goodwill and common consent of the archbishops, bishops, and other

prelates, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other free men in our realm.

II. No officer of ours or of our heirs shall seize corn, wool, hides, or any other possessions of any one without the good-will and assent of their owner.

III. Nothing shall henceforth be taken from a sack of wool under the name or pretext of a maletote.

IV. We will also and have granted for us and our heirs that all the clerks and laity of our realm shall have all their laws, liberties, and free customs as freely and fully as they have been wont to have them at the time of their fullest enjoyment. And if we or our heirs shall have published any ordinances or introduced any customs contrary to these liberties or contrary to any article contained in the present charter, we will and have granted that such customs and ordinances be held null and void now and for ever.

V. Also to Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex and constable of England; to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, marshal of England; and to the other earls, barons, knights, and squires; to John Ferrars and all others in their alliance, party and friendship, as well as to all who hold lands of the value of twenty pounds in our realm, either immediately from ourselves or from any one else, who were summoned to cross the sea with us to Flanders on a certain specified day and did not come, we have remitted our displeasure and the ill-will we bore them for the reasons aforesaid; and we remit to them any offences they shall have committed against us or ours up to granting of this present charter.

VI. And for the surer guarantee of this matter we will and have granted for us and our heirs that all the archbishops and bishops of England shall have this present charter in their cathedral churches for ever and read it, and that they shall publicly excommunicate and in every parish church throughout their dioceses have excommunicated or cursed as excommunicate, twice a year all those who shall in any way have knowingly violated the tenor of the present charter in any clause thereof, or caused its violation.

In witness whereof our seal is appended to the present charter, together with the seals of the archbishops, bishops,

earls, barons, and others who have of their free-will sworn to observe, as far as in them lies, the tenor of this charter in each and every clause thereof, and ever lend their counsel and loyal aid to ensure its observance.

96. A Critical Year.

Translated from Latin of Bartholomew Cotton, p. 336 [Rolls]. Contemporary.

1297.

In the same year the Lord Edward, son of the renowned Edward, King of England, summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors of cathedral churches, earls, barons, and numerous other knights, to assemble in London on the morrow of Michaelmas, to consider with him and the king's council matters of high and urgent import touching the whole realm of England and to bestow their counsel thereupon.

In the same year Edward, King of England, about the feast of St. Bartholomew [August 23] crossed to Flanders to help the Count of Flanders, his ally, because the King of France, with a numerous army, had marched into Flanders against the count, in order, if he could, to destroy and lay waste his lands and to capture him.

In the same year, after the king had landed in Flanders and had arrived at Bruges, fearing the treason of the townsmen, he and the Count of Flanders retired to Ghent, and there made a long stay.

In the same year the Welsh in the English army made a raid into the territory of the Count of Hainault, where they burnt many towns and attacked some markets, and returned to the King of England's army laden with booty.

In the same year the Scots rose against the King of England, having as the commander of their army William Wallace, who had previously been outlawed; he was secretly supported by the Scottish nobility. On a certain day Earl Warenne, the King of England's representative in Scotland, and Hugh Cressingham, the same king's treasurer, with their supporters and only a scanty army—because they had been tricked into dismissing many of their men in consequence of the Scottish nobles' undertaking that the Scots would come in peaceably—

came to Stirling; and though the Scottish army was considerable, yet they were nearly all in hiding in the hills. But when the English had crossed Stirling Bridge on the Wednesday before the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross [September 11], and were not yet arranged in order of battle, the Scots, who were ready with their lines marshalled, came down upon the English, and slew Hugh Cressingham, treasurer of Scotland, and many others, knights and squires, and some clergy. Earl Warenne and others who were able took to flight, and subsequently arrived at Berwick. When the English stationed there saw this they all fled from Berwick, and left it ungarrisoned.

In the same year at the assembly in London, on the day after Michaelmas, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, prelates, clergy, earls, barons, many knights, and representatives of counties and boroughs, after many varied discussions, it was decided by the Lord Edward, the king's son, and by all the king's councillors that the Charter of Liberties of the realm of England and the Charter of the Forests should be granted and confirmed anew. It was decided also that no prises should be taken, nor taxes or aids be levied, except by the consent of the archbishops, bishops, prelates, earls and barons, save those due by ancient custom. It was further decided that for the future the sum taken for a sack of wool, for fells, and for hides, should not be twenty shillings, as had lately been exacted on account of the war, but half a mark only. . . . Moreover, the Lord Edward, the king's son, in his own person, and all the king's councillors, granted and faithfully promised to procure our lord the king's remission of all bitterness and ill-will, if he had any, towards Roger Bigod, marshal of England, Humphry Bohun, constable of England, and John Ferrars, together with their accomplices, allies, or supporters; and they promised to procure our lord the king's writ under the Great Seal in confirmation of all these matters.

97. The Battle of Bannockburn.

Translated from Latin of "Chronicle of Lanercost," 1314. 225–228. *Circ.* 1345.

Now before the festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the king collected the whole of his army into one

host, and with the aforesaid array drew nigh to the castle of Stirling to raise the siege, and to fight with the Scots who were assembled there in force; and on St. John's eve after dinner the king's army came to Torr Wood; and when it was heard that the Scots were in the wood, the king's vanguard, led by Lord Clifford, wished to surround the wood, to prevent the Scots from escaping by flight. Now the Scots suffered this, till the English were completely cut off from their friends, and then they showed themselves and charged that vanguard; some they slew and the rest they put to flight, and from that hour there was fear among the English, and greater boldness on the part of the Scots.

On the following day—a dark day for England, unlucky and ill-omen'd—when either side was preparing for battle, the English archers advanced in front of their line, and were met by Scottish archers. On either side some were wounded and some killed; but the English archers soon put the others to flight. Now when the two armies had drawn very near together, all the Scots knelt down and said a "paternoster," and commended themselves to God, and asked help of heaven; and thereafter they boldly marched against the English. They had so arranged their host that two lines were in front of the third, side by side, in such a way that neither marched in front of the other; and the third line was in the rear, and there was Robert. Now when both armies met and the English chargers galloped against the Scottish spears, as against a thick wood, there arose an exceeding great and terrible noise from the breaking of spears, and from chargers mortally wounded; and so they halted for a space. But the English in the rear could not reach the Scots because of their vanguard in between, and they could in no way help themselves, and so nothing remained but to arrange for flight. And this account I heard from a credible witness who was there present, and saw what happened. In that vanguard were slain the Earl of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir John Comyn, Sir Payen de Typetot, Sir Edmond de Mauley, and many other nobles—to make no mention of the infantry who fell in great numbers. Moreover, another misfortune occurred to the English, because, after crossing a great pit, into which

the tide flows, and which is called the Bannockburn, they fell into confusion and wished to retreat; but many nobles and others, on account of the press, fell in with their horses; some with great difficulty escaped, but many could never get out of the pit; and so the name of Bannockburn was familiar to the English for many years to come.

Now the king and Sir Hugh Despenser, who after Piers Gaveston was his chief favourite, and Sir Henry Beaumont, together with many other horse and foot, with a Scottish knight for guide, who knew by what route they could escape, to their everlasting shame fled like cravens towards the castle of Dunbar. Some, however, more tardy in their flight, were slain by the Scots, who followed hard in pursuit. At Dunbar the king, with some of his more immediate followers, put out in a boat towards Berwick, leaving all the rest to their fate, but they arrived safe and sound in England in due course. . . . After this victory Robert Bruce was unanimously called King of Scotland, because he had won Scotland by force of arms.

98. Another Account of the Battle.

Translated from Latin of Baker of Swinbrook, 146. *Circ.* 1358.

On that night [June 23] you might have seen the English most deep in their cups, wassailing and toasting immoderately; on the other hand, the Scots silently kept the vigil fasting, their every thought centred in their desire for their country's freedom; and this desire, though ungrounded, was vehement and equal to all risks. On the morrow the Scots seized the most advantageous position, and dug pits three feet deep and as wide across, stretching along the whole line from the right wing to the left; these they covered over with a light framework of twigs and osiers, that is to say with hurdles; and then over the top they strewed turf and grass; so that men could cross them on foot with care, but they could not support the weight of cavalry. In accordance with their royal leader's commands none of the Scots were mounted, and their army, drawn up in the usual divisions, was posted in solid formation at no great distance from this pit which had been warily, not

to say craftily, set between themselves and the English. On the other side, as the English army advanced from the west, the rising sun flashed upon their golden shields and polished helms. Their vanguard consisted of light horse and heavy cavalry, all unconscious of the Scots' pit with its cunningly contrived light covering; in the second division were men-at-arms and archers held in reserve to give chase to the enemy; in the third was the king with the bishops and other churchmen, and among them the brave knight Hugh Spenser. The cavalry of the vanguard advanced against the enemy, and fell headlong as their horses stumbled into the ditch with their fore feet caught in the broken hurdles; and when these fell through, the enemy came up and slew them, giving quarter only to the rich for ransom. . . . And in this disaster some were slain by our archers who had not had a proper position assigned to them, but formerly stood in the rear of the men-at-arms, whereas now they take up their position on the flank. When they saw the Scots fiercely attack those who had fallen into the ditch, some aimlessly aimed their arrows into the air, on the chance of falling in the joints of the enemy's armour, and some shot straight at the Scots and hit a few of them in the breast, but at the same time struck many more of the English in the back. So came to nothing the pomp of the day before, for the king with the bishops and Despenser took the precaution of flight. . . .

99. A Manorial Record.

Translated from the Latin quoted by Cunningham, "Growth of English History and Commerce," 2nd ed., p. 513.

Early 14th century.

There follow the services which the aforesaid tenants are bound to perform annually after the following fashion. Note that half a virgate of customable land in the township of Barrington under the jurisdiction of Lord Richard of Munfichet shall annually give work, namely, from the festival of Michaelmas to the festival of the Nativity, in each fortnight, in three services to work off its liability. And the half virgate is assessed at 1½ days' ploughing and this shall be distributed over three tasks. And the composition in lieu of ploughing

is 6d. And there is due 5 days' harrowing with one horse and this shall be distributed over 5 working days, and the composition is 5d. And he shall give . . . 2 hens at the Nativity of the value of 2d. And he is bound to carry 3 times a year, and the carrying shall be distributed over three working days. And if he is away from home for one night he shall have his food and the food of his horse at the cost of the lord, and each carrying shall be distributed over 2 working days, and the value of it shall be 6d. And he shall brew a quarter of malt against the Nativity or pay 2d. And he shall find forage for 2 horses of the lord for 2 nights before the Nativity at his house if the lord has a guest. And work is due from the Nativity to Easter, in each fortnight, 3 working days in discharge of his service.

100. A Convoy for Foreign Merchants.

1338. Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Fœdera," ii. 1031.

The king to his well-beloved and trusty servant, Walter de Manny, Admiral of the Fleet from the mouth of the river Thames northwards, greeting.

Seeing that between our agents oversea, and the noble Duke of Brabant, our kinsman, and some merchants of his duchy, there has been transacted certain weighty and important business; and among other matters an agreement has been made that the said merchants of the Duchy of Brabant shall be able to betake themselves to their own parts, within a certain time, freely without let or hindrance, with their merchandise and goods, and carry with them two thousand two hundred bags of wool, which does not fall within the statute lately made concerning the taking of wool within the realm for our own use.

We order you to fit out, man, and otherwise equip as many vessels as necessary for the safe convoy of the wool, and have them brought thus fitted and equipped to the port of Ipswich without delay; and we bid you see that the ships with the wool on board set out for Brabant under a safe and secure escort. April 28.

101. Protection for Weavers.

1339. Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Fœdera," ii. 1098.

The king to the mayor and officers of his town of Bristol, greeting.

Whereas lately, with the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others in parliament assembled, it was ordained and agreed that wool should be made into cloth within our realm, and that all those who wished to make cloth of this kind should be able to do so in certain places within our realm without let or hindrance; and that now from Thomas Blanket and certain others of your town we have heard that, though they, in accordance with our proclamation, have set up in their homes different instruments for the weaving and making of cloth, and have engaged weavers and other workmen for this purpose, you, paying no regard to these facts, demand divers sums of money from them when their instruments were finished and set up, and harass and annoy them—as they maintain—to their no small expense, and against the terms of our proclamation;

We, being assured that our proclamation, if observed, may prove of service to us and our people, and desiring that the aforesaid Thomas and others wishing to make cloth in this way, should be protected from wrong and undue impositions—

Order you to allow the said Thomas and others desiring to make cloth in this way, to have their instruments for weaving and making cloth set up in their own homes, and keep their workmen there with no hindrance, charge, or undue imposition whatever provided always that the customs and other charges due to us, if any, be paid to us, as is proper. Nov. 25.

102. Edward III. assumes the Arms of France.

1340. Froissart, c. 43. 1369-73.

At Brussels the King of England was sore desired of all his allies of the Empire that he should require them of Flanders to aid and to maintain his war, and to defy the French king and to go with him whereas he would have them; and in their so doing, he to promise them to recover Lille, Douay, and Bethune.

This request was well heard of the Flemings, and thereupon they desired to take counsel among themselves; and so they took counsel at good leisure, and then they said to the king: "Sir, before this time ye have made to us request in this behalf: sir, if we might well do this, saving your honour and to save ourselves, we would gladly do this; but, sir, we be bound by faith and oath, and on the sum of two millions of florins in the pope's chamber, that we may make nor move no war against the King of France whosoever it be, on pain to lose the said sum, and beside that, to run in the sentence of cursing. But, sir, if ye will take on you the arms of France and quarter them with the arms of England and call yourself King of France, as ye ought to be of right, then we will take you for rightful King of France, and demand of you quittance of our bonds, and so ye to give us pardon thereof as King of France: by this means we shall be assured and dispensed withal, and so then we will go with you whithersoever ye will have us."

Then the king took counsel, for he thought it was a sore matter to take on him the arms of France and the name, and as then had conquered nothing thereof, nor could not tell what should fall thereof, nor whether he should conquer it or not; and on the other side, loth he was to refuse the comfort and aid of the Flemings, who might do him more aid than any other. So the king took counsel of the lords of the Empire and of the Lord Robert of Artois and with other of his special friends; so that finally, the good and the evil weighed, he answered to the Flemings that if they would swear and seal to this accord, and promise to maintain his war, how he would do all this with a good will, and promised to get them again Lille, Douay, and Bethune; and all they answered how they were content.

Then there was a day assigned to meet at Ghent, at which day the king was there, and the most part of the said lords, and all the counsels generally in Flanders. And so then all these said matters were rehearsed, sworn, and sealed; and the king quartered the arms of France with England, and from thenceforth took on him the name of the King of France.

103. Letter from Edward III. to the King of France.

Translated by Sir E. M. Thompson from Latin of
1340. Adam Murimuth, III. Before 1347.

Philip of Valois, for long have we made suit before you by embassies and all other ways which we knew to be reasonable, to the end that you should be willing to have restored unto us our right, our heritage of France, which you have long kept back and most wrongfully occupied. And for that we see well that you are minded to continue in your wrongful withholding, without doing us right in our demand, we have entered into the land of Flanders as sovereign lord thereof, and have passed through the country. And we make known unto you that by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and our right, together with the power of the said land and with our people and allies, in regard to the right which we have in the heritage which you do wrongfully withhold from us, we are drawing nigh unto you to make an end of our rightful challenge, if you will come near. And for that so great a power of assembled men which come on our side, and which we think you are leading on your side, would never long be able to hold together without doing grievous hurt to the people and to the country—which thing every good Christian ought to eschew, and especially princes and others who think themselves worthy to rule nations—so do we greatly desire that despatch be made, and for the avoiding the death of Christians, seeing that the quarrel is manifestly ours and yours, that the trial of our challenge be made between our two bodies; whereunto we offer ourself for the reason aforesaid, albeit that we consider well the great nobility of your person, your prudence also, and discretion. And in case that you would not choose this way, then should our challenge be made to make an end thereof by battle between yourself with one hundred of the fittest men of your side and ourself with so many others of our liegemen. And if you will neither the one nor the other way, that you assign unto us a certain day before the city of Tournay to fight, power against power, within ten days next after the date of this letter. . . .

Given under our great seal at Chin, in the fields near

Tournay, the 27th day of the month of July, the year of our Lord 1340.

104. The French King's Reply.

Translated by Sir E. M. Thompson from Latin of Adam Murimuth, 114. Before 1347.

1340.

Philip, by the grace of God King of France, to Edward, King of England. We have seen your letters which were brought unto our court, sent from you to Philip of Valois, wherein are contained certain demands which you make of the said Philip of Valois. And for that the said letters came not unto us, and that the said demands were not made of us, as clearly appeareth by the tenor of the letters, we make unto you no answer. Nevertheless, inasmuch as we have heard, by means of the said letters and otherwise, that you have entered into our realm of France, bringing great harm to us and to our realm and to our people, led on by wilfulness and without reason and without regard to the faith that a liege man oweth to his lord—for you did enter into our liege homage, recognising us, as is right, to be King of France, and did promise obedience such as one is bound to promise to his liege lord, as more clearly appeareth by your letters patent, sealed with your great seal, the which we have in our hands, and which you ought equally to have with you—therefore our intent is, when unto us it shall seem good, to cast you forth from our realm, to the honour of us and of our realm and to the profit of our people. For by your undertaking, which is of wilfulness and not reasonable, hath been hindered the holy passage beyond sea, and great numbers of Christian people have been slain, the service of God minished, and holy Church had in less reverence. And as to what you have written that you think to have the help of the Flemings, we take it for certain that the good people and commons of the land will bear themselves in such manner towards our cousin, the Count of Flanders, their immediate lord, and us, their sovereign lord, that they will keep their honour and their loyalty. And that they have hitherto erred hath been from evil counsel of people who regarded not the common weal nor the honour of the country, but their own

profit only. Given in the fields near the priory of St. Andrew, under our privy seal, in default of our great seal, the 30th day of July, the year of grace 1340.

105. A Review of Papal Exactions.

Translated from Latin of Adam Murimuth, 173.

1345. Before 1347.

From the foregoing chronicles, and from those of the supreme Pontiffs, we may clearly see the care and ingenuity exercised by the holy see to wring money and wealth from all nations, and especially the English, particularly by means of promotions, during the papacy of Clement V. For he reserved to his use for a period of three years the incomes of vacant livings. Moreover, he granted different kings several tithes, a moiety being reserved for the holy see. . . And by this trafficking of Clement's many nations, especially the wretched over-eager English, were reduced to poverty and cheated of their hopes. . . . And after his death Pope John XXII. applied himself still more keenly in extorting money. For on his elevation he reserved to his use the first-fruits of such livings as should fall vacant within a period of three years, and in order that as large a number as possible should quickly fall vacant, he alleged that Clement's permissions to hold several livings conjointly had been granted without due care, and therefore recalled them, ordering all in this position to keep one living and resign the rest absolutely; and livings thus resigned he reserved for the use of the holy see. . . . Moreover, seeing that some English clergy had good livings and fat prebends, he reserved them all, even in their lifetime, giving the fat livings to cardinals and foreigners, the poor to Englishmen. . . . And from all this it may be gathered how the apostolic see strives to apply the wealth of England to its own use, not only by itself, but also by others, courtiers and cardinals, in whose hands are more good livings than it would be easy to count; so much so that in all probability the wealth that finds its way out of England to the apostolic see and to foreigners is greater than the ordinary annual exchequer of the King of England. And

from this wealth are supported, we presume, most of the enemies of the King of England.

106. The Working of the Labour Ordinance—now made a Statute.

1350–51. "Statutes," i. 311.

Whereas lately against the malice of servants, which were idle, and not willing to serve after the Pestilence, without taking excessive wages, it was ordained that such manner of servants, as well men as women, should be bound to serve, receiving salary and wages accustomed in the places where they ought to serve, as in the twentieth year of the king that now is; and that the same servants refusing to serve in such manner should be punished by imprisonment of their bodies: and now, forasmuch as the king is given to understand in this present Parliament, by the petition of the Commonalty, that the said servants, having no regard to the said ordinance, but to their ease and singular covetousness, do refuse to serve great men and other, unless they have livery and wages to the double and treble of that they were wont to take, to the great damage of the great men and impoverishing of all the said Commonalty: wherefore in the same Parliament by the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other great men of the said Commonalty there assembled, to refrain the malice of the said servants, be ordained and established the things under-written.

107. Wages fixed by Parliament.

1350–51. "Statutes," i. 311.

. . . Carters, ploughmen, drivers of the plough, shepherds, swineherds, and all other servants shall take liveries and wages, accustomed in the twentieth year of the present king's reign, or four years before, so that in the country where wheat was wont to be given, they shall take for the bushel ten pence, or wheat at the will of the giver, till it be otherwise ordained. And they shall be hired to serve for a whole year, or by other usual terms, and not by the day; and none shall pay in the time of haymaking but a penny the day;

and a mower of meadows for the acre five pence, or by the day five pence; and reapers of corn in the first week of August two pence, and in the second, three pence, and so till the end of August, and less in the country where less was wont to be given, without meat or drink or other courtesy to be demanded, given, or taken; and all workmen shall bring openly in their hands to the merchant towns their instruments, and there shall be hired in a common place and not private.

None shall take for the threshing of a quarter of wheat or rye over two pence, and the quarter of barley, beans, peas and oats over one penny if so much were wont to be given; and the said servants shall be sworn two times in the year to hold and do these ordinances; and none of them shall go out of the town where he dwelleth in the winter to serve the summer, if he may serve in the same town. . . .

Carpenters, masons, and tilers, and other workmen of houses, shall not take by the day for their work, but in manner as they were wont, that is to say: A master carpenter three pence and another two pence; a master mason four pence and other masons three pence; and their servants one penny. Tilers three pence and their knaves one penny, and other coverers of fern and straw three pence and their knaves one penny. Plasterers and other workers of mud walls, and their knaves, by the same manner, without meat or drink; that is from Easter to Michaelmas; and from that time less, according to the rate and discretion of the justices, which shall be thereto assigned.

The following calculation of average annual wages, without diet, per week, given by Dr. Cunningham in an appendix to his "Growth of English Industry and Commerce" (1882), illustrates the rise in wages caused by the Black Death, and the efforts made to check it:

DATE	LABOURER	ARTISAN
1272.	Sixpence to ninepence.	A shilling.
1348.	Two to four shillings.	Four shillings.
1384.	One shilling to one and Sixpence.	One and sixpence to two shillings.

108. Sack of Limoges.

1370. Froissart, c. 283. 1369–73.

Then the prince, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Pembroke, and all the other with their companies entered into the city, and all other foot-men, ready apparelled to do evil, and to pill and rob the city, and to slay men, women, and children, for so it was commanded them to do. It was great pity to see the men, women, and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy; but he was so inflamed with ire, that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard, but all put to death, as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable. There was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, and if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyes; for more than three thousand men, women and children were slain and beheaded that day. God have mercy on their souls, for I trow they were martyrs. And thus entering into the city a certain company of Englishmen entered into the bishop's palace and there they found the bishop; and so they brought him to the prince's presence, who beheld him right fiercely and felly, and the best word he could have of him was, how he would have his head stricken off, and so he was had out of his sight.

109. The Good Parliament.

Translated from Latin of "Chronicon Angliæ," (St. Albans), 70 *sq.* *Circ.* 1390.

1376.

In the year of our Lord 1376, in accordance with the king's commands, a parliament was held in London, which met in the octave of St. George, and sat almost continuously for nine weeks; and in it supplies were urgently asked for the king from the Commons. But the representatives from the shires, inspired by Heaven as we suppose, after careful deliberation, refused to give a reply to such petitions without consulting the magnates. . . . When therefore these nobles and knights

of the shires had deliberated upon the royal petition, it was agreed among them that they should with one mind refuse the king what he asked until certain abuses and grievances should be righted, and until certain persons should be removed, who were seen to have impoverished the king and the realm, to have blackened his fair fame, and in many ways to have weakened his power, and that their excesses should be fittingly punished in accordance with their deserts.

[Their next step is to elect an honest speaker.]

. . . But while they were perturbed thereon, God raised the spirit of a knight of their body, called Peter de la Mare, pouring into his heart most abounding wisdom and boldness to carry out what he had conceived in his mind, and a wonderful eloquence. . . . He was not to be bent by any threats of the magnates, nor softened by any bribes from following the straight line of justice.

[Peter states the grievances in parliament, and reduces the Duke of Lancaster and his party to try other means to secure their ends; the duke becomes unexpectedly gracious, and the Commons proceed to the impeachment of the king's bad advisers.]

. . . Thereafter, standing up in their seats, the Commons alleged against Lord Latimer, the king's chamberlain, by the mouth of Peter de la Mare, that he was useless to the king and the realm. Wherefore they vehemently demanded that he should be deprived of his office, because, they maintained, he had too often beguiled the king, and had proved false, not to say a traitor to him.

[Richard Lyons being implicated tries to bribe the Prince of Wales unsuccessfully; but he succeeds with the king, who remarks he is but getting back his own. Lord Nevill supports Latimer, but is silenced by Peter de la Mare. At last the Duke of Lancaster is compelled to give sentence against them.]

. . . For the duke was anxious to appease the people, who he knew hated Latimer and Lyons, and he feared the authority of the Prince of Wales, who he knew wished well to the people and the Commons, and therefore he deprived Lord Latimer of his office, for he had been the king's chamberlain; and he confiscated all his goods to the king. And as he did not wish to throw him into prison, being a peer of the realm, he ordered him to be kept under observation till the kings

pleasure should be known concerning him. It was also determined by the common decree of parliament that the said Lord Latimer should be in disgrace henceforth, and should in no wise be admitted to the council of the king or the realm. But he deprived Richard Lyons of all the lands and holdings that he held in England, and ordered him to be imprisoned in the Tower of London. But the king's death soon after put an end to this strictness; for after his death the duke did whatever he wished, as we shall show hereafter.

[Sir Richard Sturry is banished from court, though afterwards recalled, but the parliament is greatly discouraged by the death of the Black Prince during its session, especially as Lancaster wishes to discuss the question of succession to young Richard. The Commons refuse to consider the matter, and pass on to their reforms, which result in the cancelling certain privileges given to the people of Yarmouth in the sale of herrings, and in the banishment after a severe struggle of Alice Perrers.]

. . . Thereupon, seeing that the end of the parliament was now at hand, taking into consideration the king's imbecility and the opportunity presented to some of his friends for seizing the realm, the Commons proposed, on behalf of the people, that twelve peers of the realm, loyal and discreet and free from greed, should be always present at the councils of the king and the realm; so that at least six of them should be ever with the king for less important business, and that for the transaction of great affairs all the twelve should be required. For the Commons were urged thereto by the greed of certain Englishmen, to whom the king had given too great opportunity to dispose of the affairs of the realm, and who in the pursuit of rewards and bribes had turned aside after covetousness; and with them everything was for sale—even the faith and justice that they owed to the king and the people. Wherefore a very great murmur of the people arose, because they made all those without money go without justice. . . . Now the duke, calling their demand just with his lips, but pondering something else in his heart, decided that their demand should be granted, and had the said peers elected by the Commons. Their election took place accordingly. . . . And all these enactments the king promised to hold and abide by; and this was the end of the parliament.

110. An Ideal Knight.

Chaucer, Prol. "Cant. Tales" (ed. Skeat). 1386 88

A knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.
Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
And therto hadde he riden (no man ferre)
As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
And ever honoured for his worthinesse.
At Alisaundre he was, whan it was wonne;
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the borde bigonne
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.
In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce.
And evermore he hadde a sovereyn prys.
And though that he were worthy, he was wys,
And of his port as meke as is a mayde.
He never yet no vileinye ne sayde
In al his lyf, un-to no maner wight.
He was a verray parfit gentle knight.

111. John Wyclif.

Translated from Latin of Walsingham, "Hist. Angl." i. 324. 1394.

1377. About the same time there arose in the University of Oxford a northerner called Master John Wyclif, a doctor in divinity, who publicly held in the schools and elsewhere mistaken and heretical opinions, contrary to the holding of the Catholic Church, and especially bitter against the monks and other landed churchmen. And that he might the more carefully glose his heresy and most speciously extend it, he gathered unto him workers of iniquity—to wit, friends and associates of one school abiding in Oxford and elsewhere; and these wore russet gowns, for a token of greater perfection, and walked barefooted, to spread their heresies among the people and preach them openly and even publicly in their sermons.

And among other things these were the opinions with which they were primed: that the Church of Rome is not the head

of all the Churches, more than any other single Church, and that no greater power was granted to Peter by Christ than to any other apostle; that the pope has no greater power in the keys of the Church than any one else in the order of the priesthood; that temporal lords may, with law and approval, deprive a bankrupt Church of its property . . .; that the Gospel is a sufficient rule of life for any Christian, and that all the other rules of the saints, to which divers men of religion conform, add no more perfection to the Gospel than doth whitewash to a wall. . . .

These and many other errors, to the great jeopardy of our Faith, were so spread by the said seducers that lords and magnates of the realm, and many of the people supported them in their preaching and favoured those who preached these errors; doubtless chiefly for this reason, because in their teaching they gave laymen power to rob churchmen of their temporal possessions.

But when these propositions and ravings had been exposed and examined before the pope, with his own hand he condemned twenty-three of them as heretical and idle; and he sent bulls to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London that they should have the said John arrested and carefully examined on the aforesaid propositions. Whereupon the archbishop . . . in the presence of the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Henry Percy, enjoined silence on him and all others with regard to these matters. . . . And so both himself and his followers were silent for some time. But at length, by the countenance of the temporal lords, they afterwards ventured to take up again and spread among the laity the same opinions, and others much worse than those they spread before. Now on that day on which the foregoing had been transacted at London, on account of some insult uttered by the Duke of Lancaster to the Bishop of London, the Londoners forthwith rose as one man, seized their arms and purposed to put him to death. But the bishop would in no way suffer this, and had he not opposed their intent at that time, they would have burnt the Savoy, the duke's mansion, in their rage. . . . Among other insults offered to the duke, they reversed and burnt his coat of arms in the streets.

112. The Friars.

John Wyclif, "Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars," Selected English Works, iii. 366-401. Spelling modernised. 1384.

Also friars say that it is needful to leave the commandment of Christ, of giving of alms to poor feeble men, to poor crooked men, to poor blind men and to bedridden men, and give this alms to hypocrites that feign them holy and needy when they be strong in body and have overmuch riches, both in great houses and precious clothes, in great feasts and many jewels and treasure; and thus they slay poor men with their false begging, since they take falsely from them their worldly goods, by which they should sustain their bodily life; and deceive rich men in their alms and maintain or comfort them to live in falseness against Jesus Christ. For since there were poor men enough to take men's alms, before friars came in, and the earth is now more barren than it was, our friars or our men had to go without this alms; but friars by subtle hypocrisy get to themselves and prevent poor men from having this alms. . . .

Also friars feign them as hypocrites, to keep straightly the Gospel and poverty of Christ and His apostles; and yet they are most contrary to Christ and His apostles in hypocrisy, pride, and covetousness. For they show more holiness in bodily habit and other signs than did Christ and His apostles, and for their singular habit of holiness they presume to be even with prelates and lords, and more worthy than other clerks; and in covetousness they can never make an end, but by begging, by crying, by burying, by salaries and trentals, and by shriving, by absolutions and other false means cry ever after worldly goods, where Christ used none of all these; and thus for this stinking covetousness they worship the fiend as their God. . . .

Also friars be thieves, both night thieves and day thieves, entering into the Church not by the door, that is Christ. . . .

Also friars be wasters of treasure of our land by many blind and unskilful manners. For first they blind them blindly from freedom of the Gospel and then spend much gold to get them dispensation; and many times bring vain pardons and other vain privileges, and in all this the gold of our land goes out, and simony and curse and boldness in sin come again. . .

Friars also be most privy and subtle procurators of simony and foul winning and begging of benefices, of indulgences and travels, pardons and vain privileges. For men say they will get a great thing of the pope, or of cardinals in England, more cheaply than other procurators; and they be more wily and more pleasantly can flatter the pope and his court; and most privily make lords to maintain the pope, in robbing our land of treasure by his pardons, privileges, and the first-fruits of benefices in our land, and dimes and subsidies to war on Christian men, for stinking worldly lordship that God has forbidden to him and all priests; and in false confession they stir lords much thereto and need to destroy the land when they maintain the pope and this false robbing.

113. The Friars.

William Langland, "Piers Plowman," c. x. 242–258
Modernised. 1393.

Do we see them on Sundays, the service to hear,
At matins, in the morning? Till mass begin
Or even till even-song, see we right few!
Or work they for their bread, as the law bids?
No, but at midday meal-time I meet with them often
Coming in a cope as if they were clerks;
And for the cloth that covereth them call'd is he a friar,
Washeth and wipeth and with the first sitteth.
But while he worked in the world and won his meat with truth
He sat at the side bench and second table.
Came no wine to his lips all the week long,
Nor blanket in his bed, nor white bread before him.
The cause of all this mischief cometh of many bishops
That suffer such sots, and other sins to reign.
Of a truth, an we dare say so: *Simon quasi dormit*;
'Twere better to *watch*, for thou hast great charge

114. Picture of a Monk.

Chaucer, Prol. "Canterbury Tales."
Modernised. 1386–88.

A monk there was, a fair one for the mastery,
A rider-out, that loved venery;

A manly man, to be an abbot able,
Full many a dainty horse had he in stable;
And when he rode, men might his bridle hear
Jingle in a whistling wind so clear,
And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell. . . .
He gave not of that text a pulled hen
That saith that hunters be not holy men;
Nor that a monk, when he is cloisterless,
Is like unto a fish that is waterless;
This is to say, a monk out of his cloister.
But this same text held he not worth an oyster. . . .
Greyhounds he had as swift as fowl in flight;
Of pricking and of hunting for the hare
Was all his lust, for no cost would he spare.
I saw his sleeves trimmed at the wrist
With fur, and that the finest of the land.
And for to fasten his hood under his chin
He had of gold there wrought a curious pin:
A love knot in the greater end there was. . . .
He was a lord full fat and in good point;
His boots were supple, his horse in great estate.
Now certainly he was a fair prelate;
He was not pale as is a pined ghost.
A fat swan loved he best of any roast.

115. A Pardoner.

William Langland, "Piers Plowman," i. 65–79.
Modernised. 1362.

There preached a pardoner, as though he were a priest,
And brought forth a bull, with bishop's seals,
And said that he himself might all absolve
From fasts ill kept and vows that they had broke.
Laymen believed him well, and liked his words,
And came and kneeled to kiss his bulls.
He tripped them with his letters, threw dust into their eyes;
And hooked them with his parchments, rings and brooches,
Thus ye give your gold, gluttons to help,
And pay it out to wantons, that love vice.

Now were the bishop good or worth his ears,
His seal should not be sent to cozen folk.
The parish priest and pardoner do share the silver
That poor parish folk should have, if 'twere not so.

116. The Rising of the Commons.

1381. Froissart, c 381.

It was a marvellous thing and of poor foundation that this mischief began in England, and to give ensample to all manner of people I will speak thereof as it was done, as I was informed, and of the incidents thereof. There was an usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen hath great franchise over the commons and keepeth them in servage, that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour the lords' lands, to gather and bring home their corns, and some to thresh and to fan, and by servage to make their hay and to hew their wood and bring it home. All these things they ought to do by servage, and there be more of these people in England than in any other realm. Thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and specially in the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Bedford. These unhappy people of these said counties began to stir, because they said they were kept in great servage, and in the beginning of the world, they said, there were no bondmen, wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond, without he did treason to his lord, as Lucifer did to God; but they said they had not that nature, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed to the similitude of their lords, saying why should they then be kept so under like beasts; the which they said they would no longer suffer, for they would be all one, and if they laboured or did anything for their lords, they would have wages therefor as well as other. And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the county of Kent called John Ball, for the which foolish words he had been three times in the Bishop of Canterbury's prison; for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say

thus: "Ah, ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do till everything be common, and that there be no villeins nor gentlemen, but that we may be all united together, and that the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved or why should we be kept thus in servage? We be all come from one father and from one mother, Adam and Eve; whereby can they say or show that they be greater lords than we be, saving by that they cause us to labour for that they spend? They are clothed in velvet and we be vestured with poor cloth; they have their wines, spices and good bread, and we have rye and straw and drink water; they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and travail, rain and wind in the fields; and by that that cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates; we be called their bondmen and without we do readily them service, we be beaten; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us nor do us right. Let us go to the king, he is young, and show him what servage we be in, and show him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise." Thus John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

Of his words and deeds there was much people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich and such as were noble; and then they began to speak among them, and said how the realm of England was right evil governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noblemen: so thus these unhappy men of London began to rebel and assembled them together, and sent word to the aforesaid counties that they should come to London and bring their people with them, promising them how they should find London open to receive them and the commons of the city to be of the same accord, saying how they would do so much to the king that there should not be one bondman in all England.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedford, and of the counties about, that they rose and came towards London to the number of sixty thousand. And they had a captain called Wat Tyler, and with him in company was Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Wat Tyler, and he was indeed a tiler of houses, an ungracious patron. . . .

117. A Labourer.

William Langland, "Piers Plowman," B. vi. 109 Modernised. 1362.

Labourers that have no land to live on, but their hands,
Deign not to dine on food kept overnight.
No penny ale for them, nor a piece of bacon;
It must be fresh meat, or fish fried or baked,
And that hot and more than hot—lest it chill their maw
If he be not highly waged he will moan
That he was a workman born; curse the hour!
Gentle Cato's counsel he begins to rail on:
"*Paupertatis onus patienter ferre memento.*"
And then he cursed the king and all the king's justices
For framing such laws, labourers to grieve.
But while hunger was here master, he did not chide,
Nor strive against the *Statute;* he looked so stern.

118. John Ball's Summons.

Translated from Latin of Walsingham, "Hist. Angl." ii. 33. 1394.

1381.

John Schep, sometime Saint Mary's priest of York, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John Nameless and John the Miller and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in borough, and stand together in God's name, and biddeth Piers Plowman go to his work, and chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trueman and all his fellows and no more; and look sharp you to union and no more.

John the Miller hath yground small, small, small.
The King's son of heaven shall pay for all.

Be ware or ye be woe.
Know your friend from your foe
Have enough and say "Ho!"
And do well and better and flee sin,
And seek peace and hold therein.
And so bid John Trueman and all his fellows.

119. Shipping Encouraged.

1381. "Statutes," ii. 18.

To increase the navy of England which is now greatly diminished, it is assented and accorded:

That none of the king's liege people do from henceforth ship any merchandise in going out or coming within the realm of England, in any port, but only in ships of the king's liegance; and every person of the said liegance, which after the feast of Easter next ensuing, at which feast this ordinance shall first begin to hold place, do ship any merchandise in any other ships or vessels upon the sea, than of the said liegance, shall forfeit to the king all his merchandises shipped in other vessels, wheresoever they be found hereafter, or the value of the same; of which forfeitures the king will and granteth that he that duly espieth and duly proveth that any person hath anything forfeited against this ordinance, shall have the third part for his labour, of the king's gift.

120. The King Absolute.

Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
1399. "Hist. Angl," ii. 231. *Cire.* 1419.

In his desire, as is alleged, to harass and crush the people of his realm, he sent letters patent to all the counties of the realm, and by threats compelled all his lieges—temporal as well as spiritual—to take uncustomary oaths of such a nature as probably to bring about the final ruin of his people, and he made his lieges confirm these oaths under their hand and seal. He compelled too his lieges to put their seals to blank paper, so that, as often as he wished to grow rich at their expense, he had the means of crushing them individually or together.

Moreover, he forced the sheriffs throughout the realm to take new oaths beyond those in use, namely, to the effect that they would obey all royal commands directed to them under the Great and Privy Seals, and even those under his own signet. And if the said sheriffs should get to know that any of his stewards, of any rank whatever, were giving utterance in public or private to any libel likely to make for the dishonour or discredit of the royal person, they were to imprison them till they received other commands from the king.

121. Henry Duke of Lancaster, challenges the Crown.

September 30, 1399. "Annales Ricardi II.," p. 281.

And immediately when it was declared that the kingdom of England with its appurtenances was vacant, the aforesaid Henry, Duke of Lancaster, rose from his place, challenged the said kingdom of England and the crown in his mother tongue in these words: "In the name of God, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm, this the crown with all the members and appurtenances as I that am descended by right line of the Blood, coming from the good lord King Henry the Third, and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me with help of my kin and of my Friends to recover it: the which Realm was in point to be undone for default of Governance and undoing of the good Laws." After which challenge and claim the lords spiritual and temporal and all the estates there present being asked singly and in common, what they thought of that challenge and claim, the said estates with the whole people without any difficulty or delay, agreed with one accord that the said duke should reign over them.

Henry's Answer to the Estates.

Sires, I thank God and you, Spiritual and Temporal, and all the estates of the Land; and do you to wit it is not my will that no man think it be way of Conquest I would disherit any man of his heritage, franchises or other rights, that he ought to have, ne put him out of that he has and has had by good laws and customs of this Realm, except those persons

that have been against the good purpose and the common profit of the realm.

122. Proceedings against the Lollards.

1401. The Statute De Hæretico Comburendo. Statute Book, 2 Henry IV. c. 15. Latin, shortened.

[Preamble.] Whereas although the Catholic faith hath been hitherto most devoutly observed, yet nevertheless divers false and perverse People of a certain New Sect, of the faith, and the Sacraments of the Church and the authority of the same most damnably thinking, and against the law of God and of the Church usurping the Office of Preaching, do perversely and maliciously in divers Places within the said Realm under the colour of dissembled holiness preach and teach these days openly and privily divers new doctrines and wicked heretical and erroneous opinions, and make unlawful Conventicles, they hold schools and make and write books and do wickedly instruct the people and daily commit other Enormities horrible to be heard in Subversion of the said Catholic faith, and in destruction of the Rights and Liberties of the said Church of England.

[The Commons therefore pray for remedy, and it is accordingly enacted:]

If any person upon the said wicked Preachings [etc.] be before the Diocesan convict, and do refuse duly to abjure, or after the abjuration pronounced, fall into relapse, so that according to the Holy Canons he ought to be left to the Secular Court, whereupon Credence shall be given to the Diocesan of the same Place or to his Commissaries in this behalf, then the Sheriff of the County, and the Mayor and Sheriff (or Mayor and Bailiffs of the City, Town or Borough) shall be personally present in preferring such sentences, and they shall receive the same persons and every one of them and cause them to be burnt before the people in a high place, that such Punishment may strike fear to the minds of others whereby no such wicked Doctrine and heretical opinions nor their authors and Fautors [favourers] be sustained or otherwise suffered.

123. The Trial and Execution of William Sawtrey.

[The trial began on April 30, 1399, before Henry, Bishop of Norwich, when Sawtrey publicly professed the following articles:]

1399–1401. Wilkin's "Concilia," iii. p. 257. Latin, contemporary.

He [Sawtrey] says that (1) he will not adore the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on the cross.

(2) He would rather adore a temporal king than a wooden cross.

(3) He would rather adore the bodies of the saints than the True Cross of Christ, even if the True Cross were before him.

(4) A deacon and any priest is more bound to preach the word of God than to say matins and other canonical hours.

(5) After the utterance of the words of consecration, the bread of the Body of Christ remains of the same nature as it was before, nor does it cease to be bread.

124. The Quarrel with the Percys: Battle of Shrewsbury.

1402–1403. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 27 *et seq.* English, modernised, *c.* 1461–1471.

The Earl of Northumberland prayed the king to pay his money due unto him for keeping of the marches of Scotland, and said: "My son and I have spent our good in keeping of the said marches." The king answered: "I have no money, nor none thou shalt have." The earl said: "When ye came into this land ye made promise for to be ruled by our counsel, and ye take yearly much good of the realm and pay nought, and so ye wrath your commons; God send you counsel!" Then came the earl's son, Sir Harry Percy, that had wedded the aforesaid Edmund's sister that was prisoner in Wales, praying the king that he would suffer that the said Edmund's ransom might be paid of his own. The king said that with the money of his realm, he would not fortify his enemies against him. Sir Henry Percy said: "Shall a man spend his good, and put himself in peril for you and your realm, and ye

will not help him in his need?" The king was wroth, and said to him: "Thou art a traitor! Wilt thou that I should succour mine enemies and enemies of the realm?" Sir Henry Percy said: "Traitor am I none, but a true man, and as a true man I speak." The king drew to him his dagger, and Sir Henry Percy said to the king: "Not here, but in the field."

125. Embassy from the King of France: The French Reply to the English Demands.

Jean Juvenal des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI." (ed. Buchon), p. 502. French, before 1473, shortened.

June 1414.

And there were sent the Archbishop of Bourges, surnamed Bourrelier, a very worthy man and a good clerk (and others). Their chief mission was to treat of the demands made by the English, and of the concessions in Guienne, which the king [of France] offered liberally enough. The English were not content with these, and said and maintained that they had a right to the duchies of Normandy and of Guienne, and the counties of Anjou and Poitou, Maine, Touraine and Ponthieu, seeing that they had direct claim to the crown of France. And the King of England said that he was the true King of France, and that he would conquer the kingdom. [The archbishop begged leave to answer him], and said quite plainly to him: "Sire, the King of France our Sovereign Lord is the true King of France, nor have you any right to those things which you claim, nor to the kingdom of England; but it belongs to the true heirs of the late King Richard, nor can our Sovereign Lord safely treat with you."

King Henry was as displeased as he was astonished at these words, and answered back to them very haughtily, and said that they might go, and he would follow at their heels; and he gave them safe conduct. Some of the Frenchmen inquired secretly if there were any alliance between the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, and found that there was very close and secret agreement.

126. The Battle of Agincourt.

Jean le Fevre, Sieur de St. Remy, "Chronique."
October 24, 1415. ch. lxxi. French, contemporary, shortened.

As no hope of peace remained, each side prepared for battle; every English archer was protected by a stake, sharp at both ends, which he fixed in the ground before him. The French had drawn up their lines between two small woods, the one close to Agincourt, and the other to Tramecourt. The ground was narrow and very advantageous for the English, and the contrary for the French, for the latter had been all the night on horseback in the rain, and pages and valets and others, in walking their horses, had broken up the ground, which was soft, and in which the horses sunk in such a manner that it was with great difficulty they could get up again. Besides, the French were so loaded with armour that they could not move. First they were armed in long coats of steel, reaching to their knees, and very heavy, below which was armour for their legs, and above, white harness and basnets * with camails,† and so heavy was their armour that, together with the softness of the ground, they could with difficulty lift their weapons. The greater part [of the English archers] were without armour, wearing doublets, their hose loosened, and having hatchets and axes, or long swords hanging from their girdles, and some had bare feet; some wore "humettes," or caps of boiled leather, or of wicker-work crossed with iron.

Jean le Fevre, "Chronique," ch. lxxxi.

The King of England appointed an old knight, called Sir Thomas Erpingham, to draw up, unobserved, the archers and place them in the front, and he exhorted all on the part of the king to fight valiantly. Then he rode before the archers, and after arraying them, he threw a bâton, and then dismounted and placed himself in the king's battalion, who had also dismounted. Then the English suddenly began to march, uttering a very loud cry, which much astonished the French. Then the French, seeing the English coming towards them, placed themselves in order of battle, each under his banner, and

* Headpieces.

† Pieces of chain armour attached to the basnet to protect the neck and shoulders.

wearing his basnet. The trumpets and clarions of the English in their advance made a great noise; the French began to bend their heads, especially those who had no shelter from the English archers, who shot their arrows so fiercely that none dared approach them. But before the two armies met, many of the French were severely wounded by the English arrows, and as they approached nearer, the French so pressed on each other that they could not lift their arms to attack their enemies.

[An attempt was made to attack the English archers in the flank by a body of French cavalry.]

The greater part of them, with all their horses, fearing the arrows, fell back on to the French advanced guard, in which they caused great confusion, breaking and exposing it in many places, and making them retire to new-sown ground, for their horses were so wounded by arrows that they were unmanageable. And thus the advance guard were thrown into disorder, and the men-at-arms fell without number, and their horses stampeded. Then the English charged the French more fiercely, overthrowing the two first lines, and in many places cruelly destroying and slaying without mercy. And then all the rearguard, being still mounted, seeing the fate of the two first lines, fled, excepting some of the commanders and leaders. During the battle the English took many prisoners.

"Gesta Henrici," p. 54. Latin, contemporary.

For they [the French] were seized with fear and panic. There were some, even of the more noble of them, who surrendered themselves more than ten times.

There arose a clamour that the hinder battle or the enemy's cavalry in exceeding great numbers was repairing its ranks and array to come upon us who were so few in numbers and so wearied. And immediately the prisoners, without regard to persons, excepting the Duke of Orleans and a few others, were put to the sword lest they should be ruin to us in the coming battle. But after a little while the adversary's ranks, by the will of God, having felt the sharpness of our arrows, as our king was approaching, left us a field of blood, with waggons and many carriages filled with provisions, arrows, spears, and bows.

"Gesta Henrici," p. 57.

For they [the French] had, according to their own reckoning, more than 60,000 that drew the sword, when our fighting men did not exceed 6000; and out of their numbers fell the Dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, five Counts, nearly ninety Barons and standard-bearers; more than 1500 knights, and between 4000 and 5000 other nobles, being nearly all the nobility of the French chivalry. And there were taken the Duke of Orleans (and others). And there was great joy and wonder among our army, for of our numbers there were found slain in the field nine or ten persons besides the illustrious and wise Prince, Lord Edward, Duke of York, and Lord Michael, Earl of Suffolk.

127. Parties in France.

Monstrelet, "Chroniques," liv. 1. ch. clviii.
French, contemporary, shortened.

The said Duke of Burgundy, from Lagny-sur-Marne, sent to Paris to the [French] king and his Council, asking that he might enter Paris with all his host for safety: but the only reply vouchsafed to him was that if he would enter unattended, the king and his Council would be satisfied, and not otherwise. This the Duke of Burgundy would never have done, for he knew well that those who advised the king were his mortal enemies, and he would on no account trust himself to them.

Jean Juvenal des Ursins, p. 534. French,
1416. contemporary, shortened.

The Duke of Burgundy then sent very seditious letters to many of the good towns to gain them over from their allegiance to the king. And he sent to Rouen, which suddenly declared its allegiance to him. The towns of Rheims, Châlons, Troyes, and Auxerre also joyfully submitted themselves, and took the cross of St. Andrew, and said, "Long live Burgundy!" After their submission they took the men who had formerly been the king's officers, and cut off their heads, and robbed them of their goods. And to

kill a man it was sufficient to say: "He is an Armagnac." Similarly, when any were found who were known not to belong to the faction of the Duke of Burgundy, they were punished and their goods seized.

128. The Duke of Burgundy enters Paris.

"Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris" (ed Buchon), p. 625. French, contemporary.

1417–1418.

Item, at this time, at the beginning of August, the Duke of Burgundy prepared to come to Paris, and he approached, subduing [on his way] towns, cities, and castles, and proclaiming everywhere in the name of the king, and the dauphin, and in his own name, that no one should pay taxes; wherefore the governors of Paris conceived such great hatred against him that they caused preachers to say that they well knew that he wished to be King of France, and that it was through him and his advice that the English were in Normandy; and in every street in Paris dwelt spies, who arrested and imprisoned their very neighbours; and no man after he had been arrested dared speak about it, for fear of losing his goods or his life.

[On May 28 the Burgundian forces assaulted Paris. The Parisians rose in revolt, and a general massacre took place.]

Then there was a great commotion in Paris. The people took up arms and approached the bands of the Burgundians before the soldiers were assembled. Then the new prefect of Paris came, and with his own followers, and with the help of the commons, repulsed the Burgundians, striking down and killing a great heap outside the gate of St. Anthony; and then the people, being much incensed against the Burgundians, went to all the hostelries in Paris seeking them, and when they found one, whatever were his condition, prisoner or free, he was led out to the soldiers in the middle of the street, and mercilessly slain with great axes and other weapons. And when they were all lying dead, the women and children, having no power to do them further ill, cursed them as they passed, saying, "Dogs of traitors, you fare better than you deserve." And you could not find a single

street of any importance in Paris where there had not been some massacre, nor could you walk a hundred paces for the dead that there were. And on that Sunday, the 29th day of May, there were slain in the streets of Paris by the sword and other weapons 522 men, without counting those slain within the houses.

129. The Emperor Sigismund offers to mediate between England and France.

English Chronicle (ed. Davies), p. 42.
April 7, 1416. English, modernised, *c.* 1461–1471.

This same year [1416] came Sigismund, the Emperor of Almaine, into England, for to speak with King Harry, to treat of certain things touching the peace of England and of France, and also for the welfare and unity of all holy Church. And the king and his lords met with him at St. Thomas Watering, without Southwark, and him received with great reverence and worship, and brought him into London, and from thence to Westminster, and there he was lodged in the palace at the king's cost, and that same time the king gave him the livery of the Garter. And when the emperor had been in this land as long as it liked him at the king's cost, he took his leave of the king; and the king brought him to Calais, and tarried there to have answer from the French party of such things as the emperor and the king had sent to them for; and at last it came and pleased them right nought; and then the emperor passed forth his way, and the king came into England again.

130. The Death of Henry V.

Thomas de Elmham, "Vita Henrici Quinti,"
August 1422. p. 326. Latin, contemporary, shortened.

And while his infirmity was daily growing on him, he learned by sure messengers that a great and strong army of the false dauphin had besieged the town of Cosne, belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, which the citizens had agreed to surrender if the siege were not raised before a certain day. On learning this the king, forgetful of his own illness, but mindful only of

his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, gathered an army hastily for the relief of the town; and because he was much weakened by the stress of his great illness, he could not ride, but was carried in a litter. And when after some days he reached the town of Corbeil, which lay on the direct route, his malady increasing, he was by his weakness prevented from fulfilling his magnanimous enterprise.

[The army was therefore sent on under the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter, and Cosne was relieved on August 11.]

Now the king grew a little better of his sickness, but after a few days was attacked more severely than before. He was borne to the castle of the Bois de Vincennes in a little rowing-boat. And at Pont Charenton, for the consolation of appearing better than he was, he left the boat and mounted on horseback; but for the great agony he suffered he could not hold himself on his horse. He was therefore carried in a litter to the castle.

131. His Dying Instructions.

Thomas de Elmham, "Vita Henrici Quinti," (ed. Hearne), p. 333. Latin, contemporary.

August 1422.

Three days before his death, having summoned into his presence the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter and other nobles of his household, he spoke tranquilly to them as follows: "It is certain," he said, "that I cannot escape death, which is already near at hand. If, therefore, during my reign I have ruled otherwise than I ought, or have done any one injustice, of which I believe the contrary, as a suppliant I pray for pardon. For your good services, especially in these wars, I give thanks to you and to all your fellow-soldiers; for which, if death had not prevented me, I intended to reward each according to his deserts. I command you to continue the wars until peace is made, to which I declare before God, I was drawn neither by the ambitious lust for power, nor for vainglory, nor for worldly honour, nor for any other such cause, but solely that by pursuing my just claim I might obtain at once peace and right. To my brother the Duke of Bedford I decree that the custody and government of the duchy of Normandy shall be committed until my son reaches

years of discretion. But the protector and defender of England shall be my brother, the Duke of Gloucester. My uncle, the Duke of Exeter, my Chamberlain, and Hungreford, Seneschal of my household, I wish and desire to be in attendance on the person of my son."

Monstrelet, "Chroniques," liv. i. ch. cclxxv. French, contemporary.

"And, moreover, I beg you all to see that you have no quarrel with my fair brother of Burgundy, and above all to prevent from this my fair brother, Humphrey: for if that arrive, God help us!"

132. The Quarrel between Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

Gregory's "Chronicle," p. 159. English, modernised, written before 1467.

September 1425.

The Duke of Gloucester sent for the Mayor and his Aldermen that they should come speak with him, and when they came he charged the Mayor that he should keep well the city that night and make good watch; and so there was all that night, for my Lord of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester were not good friends in that time. And on the morrow certain men kept the gates of the bridge of London by the commandment of Gloucester and of the Mayor. And between nine and ten of the bell there came certain of the Bishop of Winchester's [men] and drew the chains of the stulpes (post) at the bridge end in Southwark his side, the which were both knights and squires, with a great many of archers, and they embattled them and made defence of windows and pipes as it had been in the land of war, as though they would have fought against the king's people and breaking of the peace. And then the people of the city heard thereof, and they in haste shut in their shops and came down to the gates of the bridge in keeping of the city and salvation of the city against the king's enemies, for all the shops in London were shut in one hour. And then came my Lord of Canterbury and the Prince of Portugal, and treated between my Lord of

Gloucester and Bishop of Winchester, for they rode eight times between the duke and the bishop that day.

133. Beaufort's Appeal to John, Duke of Bedford.

Printed in Halle, p. 130, from contemporary document. English.

October 1425.

[In response to this letter Bedford came to England in December 1425.]

Right high and mighty Prince, and right noble and, after one, levest earthly Lorde, I recommend me unto your Grace with all my heart. And as you desire the welfare of the King our soverain Lord, and of his realms of England and of France and your own weal with all yours, haste you hither: for by my truth, and you tarry long, we shall put this land in a jeopardy with a field, such a Brother you have here: God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth that *the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England.* Written in great haste at London, the last day of October, by your true servant to my life's end,

Henry Winchester.

134. Joan of Arc's Proclamation.

"Chronique et Procès de la Pucelle d'Orléans" (ed. Buchon), p. 456. French, contemporary, shortened.

1429.

"Jesus Maria,

"King of England, and you Duke of Bedford, who call yourself Regent of the realm of France, you William de la Pole, you Suffolk, John, Lord Talbot, and you Thomas, Lord Scales, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said Bedford: yield right to the King of Heaven, deliver to the Maid, who is sent from God, the keys of all the towns which you have taken and destroyed in France. She is come from God to restore the royal blood: she is ready to make peace if you are willing to do right, thus, that you will quit France, and make good the damage which you have done there and pay back the moneys which you have received all the time you have held it. And to you archers, comrades of war, gentlemen and others who

are before the town of Orleans, get you gone to your country, in God's name: and if you do not thus, await tidings of the Maid, who will ere long come to see you to your very great hurt.

"King of England, if you do not thus, I am the chief of the war, and I assure you that in whatever place I shall find your men in France, I will fight them and pursue them and drive them out willy-nilly: and if they will not obey me I will have them all slain. Do not imagine that you will stay here long: for you shall not hold the realm of France from God. Charles shall hold it, the true heir: for so God, the King of Heaven, intends, and it has been revealed to Charles by the Maid that right soon he will enter Paris in good and fair company. And you, Duke of Bedford, the Maid begs that you will not let yourself be destroyed, that you will give answer if you will make peace in the city of Orleans, where we hope to be right soon. Written Tuesday in Holy Week."

135. The Trial of Joan of Arc.

Letter from Henry VI. to the Duke of Burgundy.

Monstrelet, "Chroniques," liv. ii. ch. cv. French, contemporary, shortened.

Most dear and well-beloved Uncle,—The Divine Power, having pity on His loyal people, permitted by His great clemency and mercy that the said woman should be captured before Compiègne, and by your good means put within our obedience and power. And because then we were required by the bishop of the diocese where she was taken to deliver her to him as to her ordinary ecclesiastical judge, we delivered the said Joan to him for trial, not willing any vengeance to be shown to her by any officers of our secular justices, which would have been reasonable and lawful. The which bishop taking in company with him the vicar of the inquisitor of errors and heresies, and calling to them a great and notable number of solemn doctors and masters in divinity and canon law, began the trial of this Joan with great solemnity and due gravity. The said judges found this Joan a superstitious sorceress of devils and blasphemeress of God

and His saints, and a person schismatic and erring in many ways in the faith of Jesus Christ.

And the judges ecclesiastical caused her to be led before the clergy, and the people assembled in great multitude. And again she was charitably admonished to return to the union of Holy Church and to correct the errors and faults which she obstinately held; and the judges proceeded to pronounce the sentence against her ordained by law for such a case. But before the sentence was given, her courage apparently failing her, she said she would return to Holy Church, which the judges heard willingly and joyfully, and the clergy also, who received her benignly, hoping thus that her soul and body would be recovered from torment and perdition. Then she submitted to the decree of Holy Church, and with her lips publicly abjured and denied her errors and detestable crimes, signing with her own hand the bill of the said abjuration and revocation. But this was hardly done than the fire of her pride, which had seemed to be extinguished, broke out anew in pestilential flames, and then the unhappy woman fell back into her errors and ravings. And therefore, as by the judgments and institutions of Holy Church it is decreed, she was abandoned to secular justice, which incontinently condemned her to be burnt. And so she was led bound to the old market in Rouen, and there publicly burnt in sight of all the people.

136. Murder of the Duke of Suffolk.

Letter from William Lomner to John Paston, dated May 5, 1450.

"Paston Letters," vol. I. No. 93. English, modernised, shortened.

May 1450.

As on Monday next after May Day [May 4], there come tidings to London, that, on Thursday before, the Duke of Suffolk came unto the coasts of Kent full near Dover, with his two ships and a little pinnace, the which pinnace he sent with certain letters to certain of his trusted men unto Calais ward, to know how he should be received; and with him met a ship called *Nicolas of the Towre*, and by them that were in the pinnace the master of the *Nicolas* had knowledge of the duke's coming. And when he espied the Duke's ships, he

sent forth his boat to wit what they were, and the duke himself spake to them and said he was by the king's commandment sent to Calais ward. And they said he must speak with their master. And so he, with two or three of his men, went forth with them in their boat to the *Nicolas;* and when he [was] come, the master bade him "Welcome, traitor," as men say; and, further, the master desired to wit if the ship men would hold with the duke, and they sent word they would not in no wise. Some say he wrote much thing to be delivered to the king, but that is not verily known. And some say he was arraigned in the ship upon the impeachments and found guilty.

Also he asked the name of the ship, and when he knew it he remembered Stacy, that said, if he might escape the danger of the Tower he should be safe; and then his heart failed him, for he thought he was deceived, and in sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship into the boat; and there was an axe and a [block], and one of the lewdest of the ship bade him lay down his head, and he should be fair [dealt] with and die on a sword; and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half a dozen strokes, and took away his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his body on the sands of Dover.

137. Cade's Rebellion.

Gregory's "Chronicle," pp. 190–195. English, modernised, before 1467, shortened.

1450.

[May] And after that the commons of Kent arose with certain other shires, and they chose them a captain, the which captain compelled all the gentles to arise with him.

[June] And at the end of the Parliament they come with a great might and a strong host unto the Black heath, beside Greenwich, the number of 46,000, and there they made a field [camp], diked and staved well about, as it be in the land of war, save only they kept order among them; and there they abode to the coming of the king from Parliament at Leicester. And then the king sent unto the captain divers lords to wit and have knowledge of that great assembling, the captain of

them sending word again unto the king, that it was for the weal of him our Sovereign Lord, and of all the realm, and for to destroy the traitors being about him. Upon the which answer the king did make cry that all the king's liege men of England should avoid the field. And upon the night after they were all voided. The morn after the king rode armed at all pieces from St John's beside Clerkenwell, through London, and with him the most party of the temporal lords in their best array. After that there were every lord with his retinue to the number of 10,000 persons, with bands above their harness, that every lord should be known from the other. And in the forward, as they would have followed the captain, was slain Sir Umfrey Stafford and William Stafford, squire, one of the manliest men of all this realm, with many more, at Sevenoaks in Kent. And soon after every lord with his retinue rode home into their country. And after that, upon the first day of July, the same captain came again to the Black heath, and upon the morrow he came with a great host into Southwark, and at the White Hart he took his lodging. And upon the morrow, that was the Friday, against even, they smote asunder the ropes of the draught bridge and fought sore, and many a man was murdered and killed in that conflict—I wot not what to name it for the multitude of riff-raff. And then they entered into the city of London, as men that had been half beside their wit, and in that [madness] they went straight unto a merchant his place, named Philip Malpas, of London. And that Philip Malpas was Alderman, and they spoiled him and bare away much good of his. And in the morn he came in again, that sorry, simple and rebellious captain, with his band. And the same day after noon was beheaded in Cheap afore the Standard Sir James Fiennes, being that time Lord Say and Great Treasurer of England. And that same even London did arise and came out at ten of the bell, and from that time until the morrow, eight of the bell, they were ever fighting upon London Bridge, and many a man was slain and cast in Thames—harness, body, and all. And the same night the Captain of Kent did fire the draught bridge of London, and before that time he brake both King's Bench and the Marshalsea, and let out the prisoners that were in them. And upon the morrow betimes came my lord the

Cardinal of York, and my lord of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, and treated between the Lord Scales and that captain, that the sore conflict ceased, and gave the captain and his band a general charter for him and all his company. And upon the 12th day of July the said captain was cried and proclaimed traitor, and that what [ever] man might or would bring the said John Cade to the king should have of the king 1000 marks. And that day was that false traitor the Captain of Kent i-take and slain in the Weald in the county of Sussex.

138. The King's Recovery.

Letter from Edmund Clere to John Paston, January 9, 1455.

"Paston Letters," i. No. 226.
Christmas 1454. English, modernised.

Blessed be God, the king is well amended, and hath been since Christmas Day, and on St. John's Day [December 27] commanded his almoner to ride to Canterbury with his offering and commanded the secretary to offer at St. Edward's.

And on the Monday afternoon [December 29] the queen came to him and brought my lord prince with her. And then he asked what the prince's name was, and the queen told him, Edward; and then he held up his hands and thanked God thereof. And he said he never knew till that time, nor wist not what was said to him, nor wist not where he had been whiles he hathe been sick till now. And he saith he is in charity with all the world, and so he would his lords were.

139. The Duke of York claims the Throne.

Whethamstede, vol. i. pp. 376–377. Latin,
October 1460. probably after 1465, shortened.

But while the people wavered in doubt, and the Lord King with his Bishops and Barons and Commons sat in Parliament at Westminster, there came, almost at the beginning of the Parliament, the said Lord Duke of York with great pomp, not a little uplifted in spirit; for he came with trumpets and

clarions, with armed men, and an exceeding great retinue of his household. On entering the palace he marched straight through the great hall until he came to the solemn chamber where the king is wont to hold his Parliament with his Commons. And when he had come there he walked up to the king's throne and putting his hand on the cushion, as a man taking possession of his own, kept it there for a short space. At length withdrawing it he turned his face towards the people, and standing quietly under the royal cloth of state awaited the applause of the onlookers. While he stood, Master Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, approached him, and with due reverence asked him whether he wished to come and see the Lord King. To which he answered thus: "I mind me of no one in this kingdom for whom it is not more fitting that he should come to me than I to him." Whereon the archbishop hastily withdrew and reported to the king the answer which he had heard from the duke's lips. Then the duke also withdrew to the principal chambers in the whole palace (as the king occupied the queen's apartment), and the bolts having been broken and the doors forcibly opened, he took up his abode there for some time in the manner of a king rather than of a duke. But when this presumptuous conduct was noised abroad, forthwith people of every estate and degree began to murmur against him.

140. Warwick opposes York's Claim.

Waurin, "Recueil des Chroniques," vol. vi., liv. iii. ch. xxxiii. p. 314. French, contemporary.

[When Warwick heard what had taken place, he asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to remonstrate with York. He refused, and Warwick went himself.]

He called Sir Thomas Neville and other of his men, entered his barge on the Thames, and went to the palace, which he found full of men-of-arms; and when he saw this he had no doubt but that the duke meant to gain his end; nevertheless, the earl did not stop, but entered the duke's chamber, and found him there leaning against a sideboard. And when the duke saw him he approached and greeted him; and then there were hard words between them, for the earl showed the

duke how ill-pleased the people were with him for having wished to strip the king of his crown. While they were speaking thus, came the Earl of Rutland and said to the Earl of Warwick, "Fair cousin, be not angry, for you know it is our right to have the crown, and that it belongs to my lord father and he must have it." To which the Earl of March, who was present, replied, saying: "Brother, do not anger any man, for all will be well."

After these words the Earl of Warwick understood well the Duke of York's intent, and he departed very ill pleased, taking leave of no one except the Earl of March; and he returned to London.

141. The Duke of York's Claim recognised by Parliament.

"Rot. Parl.," v. p. 377. English, modernised, contemporary, shortened.

October 16, 1460.

[The Duke of York put in his claim to Parliament on October 16.]

On Saturday [October 24] it was showed unto the lords by the mouth of the Chancellor that the said Duke of York called busily to have hasty and speedy answer of such matters as touched his title above said; and how that forasmuch as it is thought by all the lords that the title of the said duke cannot be defected, and in eschewing of the great inconveniences that may ensue, a mean was found to save the king's honour and estate and to appease the said duke if he would, which is this: that the king shall keep the Crown and his estate and dignity royal during his life; and the said duke and his heirs to succeed him in the same; [the said Chancellor] exhorting and stirring all the said lords that if any of them could find any other or better mean, that it might be showed. Whereupon, after sad and ripe communication, it was concluded to take the mean above rehearsed. All these premises thus showed and opened to the king's highness, he, inspired with the grace of the Holy Ghost, and in eschewing the effusion of Christian blood, condescended to an accord to be made between him and the said duke, and to be authorised by the authority of this present Parliament

142. Battle of Towton.

Hall's "Chronicle," p. 253. English. 1st ed., 1542.

March 29, 1461.

So the same day about 9 of the clocke, which was the 29 day of March, being Palm Sunday, both the hosts approached in plain field between Towton and Saxton. When each part perceived other, they made a great shout, and at the same instant time there fell a small snyt or snow, which by violence of the wind was driven into the faces of them which were of King Harry's part. The Lord Falconbridge, which led the forward of King Edward's battle, being a man of great policy and of much experience in martial feats, caused every archer under his standard to shoot one flight and then made them to stand still. The northern men, feeling the shot, but, by reason of the snow, not well viewing the distance between them and their enemies, like hardy men shot their sheaf of arrows as fast as they might, but all their shot was lost, for they came not near the southern men by forty tailor's yards. When their shot was almost spent, the Lord Falconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not only shot their own sheaves, but also gathered the arrows of their enemies and let a great part of them fly against their own masters. The Earl of Northumberland and Andrew Trolope, which were chieftains of King Harrie's vanguard, seeing their shot not to prevail, hasted forward to join their enemies. The battle was sore fought, for hope of life was set aside on every part, and taking of prisoners was proclaimed as a great offence, by reason whereof every man determined to conquer or die in the field. This deadly battle continued ten hours in doubtful victory, the one part sometime flowing and sometime ebbing; but in conclusion King Edward so courageously comforted his men, that the other part was overcome and fled toward Tadcaster Bridge to save themselves: but in the mean way there is a little brook called Cocke, not very broad, but of great deepness, in the which a great number were drowned, in so much that common people there affirm that men alive passed the river on dead carcases, and that the river of Wharfe which is the great sewer of the brook, was coloured with blood

143. The Possessions of the Earl of Warwick.

The Chronicle of Edward IV., known as "Hearne's Fragment." Contemporary, anonymous. English, modernised in "Chronicles of White Rose," p. 23.

1468.

Sure and of truth it is the said Richard, Earl of Warwick, was sent into Normandy as ambassador with others, whose secret counsellings betwixt the French king and him[self] alone brought him in suspection of many things, inasmuch that his insatiable mind could not be content; and yet before him was there none in England of the half possessions that he had. For first he had all the Earldom of Warwick whole, with all the Spencers' lands, the Earldom of Salisbury. [He was] Great Chamberlain of England, Chief Admiral and Captain of Calais, and Lieutenant of Ireland, the which possessions amounted to the sum of 20,000 marks, and yet he desired more. He counselled and enticed the Duke of Clarence, and caused him to wed his eldest daughter Isabel, without the advice or knowledge of King Edward.

144. The Death of Henry VI.

Warkworth, "Chronicle," p. 21. English, modernised, contemporary.

May 21, 1471.

And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Harry, being in ward in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death the 21st of May, on a Tuesday night betwixt eleven and twelve of the clock, being then at the Tower the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many other; and on the morrow he was chested and brought to Paul's, and his face was open, that every man might see him. And in his lying he bled on the pavement there; and afterwards at the Black Friars was brought, and there he bled new and fresh; and from thence he was carried to Chertsey Abbey in a boat and buried there in Our Lady's Chapel.

145. Character of King Henry VI.

Blakman, "De Virtutibus et Miraculis Henrici VI." *C.* 1504. Latin, translated and abridged.

He was like another Job—a simple upright man, fearing

the Lord God above all, and avoiding evil. He never used any one deceitfully, nor spoke falsely to any man. He would never wittingly do any man harm. In church or oratory he never indulged himself by sitting on a seat, or by walking to and fro, as is the manner of worldly men during Divine service, but always with his head bare, and his royal limbs seldom erect, but continually making genuflexions before the Book, with eyes and hands raised he sought inwardly to repeat the prayers, Epistles, and Gospels of the Mass with the celebrant. Also he would allow no one to enter the church with swords or spears, or to converse there.

Concerning his humility in his gait, raiment, and demeanour, he was wont from a youth to wear square shoes and boots like a farmer. Also his cloak was long, with a round hood such as a burgess wears, and his tunic reached below his knees, all dove-coloured, and he avoided anything fanciful.

Once when he was coming through Cripplegate, seeing the quarter of a man set over the gate there, he asked what it might be. And his lords told him that it was the quarter of a traitor who had been false to the King's Majesty. The king said: "Take it away. I will not that any Christian man be so cruelly used for me." Also four noble gentlemen convicted of treason, and lawfully condemned therefor, he piously released, giving them charter of pardon for their speedy liberation.

146. Edward IV.'s Wealth.

Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle, p. 559, *sub anno* 1476. Latin, contemporary.

He resumed possession of nearly all the royal estates, regardless of those to whom they had been granted, and applied the whole thereof to the support of the expenses of the crown. Throughout all the ports of the kingdom he appointed inspectors of the customs, men of remarkable shrewdness, but too hard, according to general report, upon the merchants. The king himself, also, having procured merchant ships, loaded them with the finest wools, cloths, tin, and other products, and, like a private individual living by trade, bartered his merchandise with both Italians and Greeks

through his factors. The revenues of vacant prelacies, which, according to Magna Carta, cannot be sold, he would only part with at a stated sum, and on no other terms whatever. He also examined the register and rolls of Chancery, and exacted heavy fines from those whom he found to have entered into possession of their estates without prosecuting their rights in legal form, by way of return for the rents which they had meanwhile received, added to which he had a yearly tribute of £10,000 from France and numerous tenths from the clergy. Thus in a few years he became an extremely wealthy prince.

147. The Murder of the Princes

Polydore Vergil (Elizabethan translation), p. 189
1483. English, 1508–1534, abridged.

Thus Richard, without assent of the commonalty, by might and will of certain noblemen of his faction, enjoined the realm, who, not long after, having established all things at London, took his journey to York, and first he went straight to Gloucester, where the while he tarried the heinous guilt of wicked conscience did so fret him every moment as that he lived in continual fear, for the expelling whereof he determined by death to despatch his nephews, because so long as they lived he could never be out of hazard: wherefore he sent warrant to Robert Brackenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, to procure their death with all diligence, by some mean convenient. When King Richard understood the lieutenant to make delay of that which he had commanded, he anon committed the charge unto another, James Tyrrell, who rode sorrowfully to London and murdered those babes of the issue royal. This end had Prince Edward and Richard his brother; but with what kind of death these silly children were executed it is not certainly known. But when the fame of this notable foul fact was dispersed through the realm, so great grief struck generally to the hearts of all men that the fame, subduing all fear, they wept everywhere.

148. The Court of Star Chamber.

Lord Bacon, "History of King Henry VII."
1487. (ed. Lumby), p. 15. 1621.

According to the lord chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained, concerning the points which the king recommended.

First, the authority of the star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, there was nevertheless always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's council, in causes that might in example or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth; and if they were criminal, the council used to sit in the chamber called the star-chamber; if civil, in the white chamber or white hall. And as the chancery had the Pretorian powers for equity, so the star-chamber had the Censorian powers for offences under the degree of capital. This court of star-chamber is compounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of persons—counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes—forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate [fraudulence], and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes and maintenance or headship of great persons.

149. Henry, Brittany, and Benevolences.

1490. Edward Hall's "Chronicle" (ed. 1809), p. 451. Died 1547.

[After the marriage of the French king with Anne, Duchess of Brittany] King Henry still patiently forbearing and suffering till such time that he perceived more plainly what way the world went; and understanding, before the return of his ambassadors, that the Frenchmen meant none other but plain guile, fraud and deceit, determined no more with peaceable

legations but with open war to finish and determine all controversies and displeasures between him and the French king. Wherefore he summoned his court of parliament, and there declared first the cause why he was justly provoked to make war against the French king, and after desired them of their benevolent aid of men and money for the maintenance of the same. The cause of this battle every man did allow and approbate, and to the setting forth of the same, promised their industry, labour, and all that they could make. The king commending them for their true and loving hearts, to the intent he might not aggravate the common people with paying of great taxes and sums of money—whom his mind was ever to keep in favour—would first exact money by a little and a little of the benevolent mind of the richer sort; and this kind of exaction was first excogitated by King Edward III. Therefore he consulted with his friends, to invent how to gather together a great sum of money, and published abroad that by their open gifts he would measure and search their benevolent hearts and loving minds towards him, so that he that gave most should be judged to be most loving friend, and he that gave little to be esteemed according to his gift. So by this means the king gathered innumerable sums of money, with some grudge of the people for the extremity shown by the commissioners in divers places.

When he had thus [in the following year] gathered and assembled his army, he sailed to Calais the sixth day of October, and there encamped himself, tarrying there a certain space to see his men harnessed and apparelled, that neither weapon nor any engine necessary for his journey should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowledge by the ambassadors, which were newly returned out of Flanders—for they did not know of it before—that Maximilian could make no preparation for lack of money, and therefore there was no succour to be expected at his hand. . . .

The King of England maturely considering that Brittany was clearly lost, and in manner irrecuperable, being now adjoined to the crown of France by marriage, which duchy his whole mind was to defend, protect, and confirm, and that Maximilian, what for lack of money, and what for mistrust

that he had in his own subjects, lay still like a dormouse nothing doing; perceiving also that it should be both to his people profitable, and to him great honour to determine this war without loss or bloodshed. . . .

When the commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effectively proceeded in their great affairs, that they agreed that an amity and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the conditions of the league should be equal, indifferent and acceptable to both parties. . . .

150. The Treaty of Etaples.

Lord Bacon's "History of King Henry VII." (ed. Lumby), p. 102. 1621.

1492.

Meanwhile a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both the kings' lives; where there was no article of importance; being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred forty-five thousand ducats in present, for his charges in that journey, and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aid of the Britons. . . . There was also assigned by the French king, unto all the king's principal counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business, that was displeasing to his people, was diversely interpreted. For certainly the king had no great fancy to own this peace. And therefore a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace, under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings. To Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Brittany, and freed the enterprise of Naples. To Henry, for that it filled his coffers; and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war.

. . . And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in parliament: "That after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself"; saying, he had kept promise.

151. Statute of Treason.

Lord Bacon's "History of King Henry VII." (ed. Lumby), p. 133. 1621.

1495. The principal law that was made this parliament was a law of a strange nature; rather just than legal; and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain: that no person that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the king for the time being, should after be impeached therefor, or attainted, either by the course of the law, or by act of parliament. But if any such act of attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate, that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the king's title or quarrel; and that it was agreeable to good conscience, that, whatsoever the fortunes of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague; who said, *If I have sinned, strike me; but what have these sheep done?*

152. Sir Thomas More.

"Letter from Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten," Antwerp, 1519 (translated by E. P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania "Translations and Reprints," i. No. 1).

1519. I shall then try to suggest to you, rather than adequately describe, the likeness of the whole man as in daily intercourse I have been able to observe or to remember it.

Beginning with those characteristics of More which are most unknown to you; in stature he is not tall, and yet above any conspicuous shortness. Indeed the symmetry of his body is so great that you do not notice his size. He is of light complexion, his face fair rather than pale, yet far from being ruddy, except when a slight flush overspreads it. His hair

is brownish yellow or, if you prefer, a golden brown; and his beard thin. His eyes are grey, with spots here and there on them, an indication of great talent, and considered in England the sign of an amiable temper, though our countrymen prefer black eyes. It is said that there is no sort of eyes less subject to disease. His face reflects his mind, and, always wears a pleasant and mirthful expression, occasionally passing into a laugh, and, to tell the truth, he is more inclined to pleasantry than to gravity and dignity, though far enough removed from folly or buffoonery. . . . His voice is neither very loud nor very shrill, but penetrating, with no softness or melody; and yet he speaks distinctly. Although he takes pleasure in all kinds of music, he does not seem to have been gifted by nature with a voice for singing. His speech is wonderfully precise and well enunciated, neither rapid nor at all hesitating. He dresses very simply, and wears no silk or purple or gold chains, except when it is impossible to avoid it. He is exceedingly regardless of those ceremonies by which most people judge of good manners, and as he exacts them from no one, he is not anxious to show them to others; yet he understands them perfectly, if he chooses to practise them. He thinks it effeminate, however, and unworthy of a man to spend a great part of one's time on such trivial concerns. To the court and intercourse with princes he was formerly much averse, because tyranny had always been particularly hateful to him, just as justice was attractive. You will scarcely find any court so disciplined as not to have much of bustle and ambition, much guile and much luxury, and which is entirely free from every kind of tyranny. Nor, indeed, into the court of Henry VIII. could he be drawn, except by much effort, although none can be found more order-loving and more moderate than this prince. More is by nature desirous of liberty and ease; but just as he uses ease gladly when it is given, so when business requires, no one is more careful or more laborious.

One might suppose he had been expressly formed for friendship, so sincerely does he cultivate, and so tenaciously adhere to it. Nor is he afraid of having too many friends, although Hesiod condemns it. In fact, he is ready to strike

up acquaintance with everybody, and while he is thus by no means fastidious in his choice of friends, he is ever most kind in showing them hospitality, and most constant in retaining them. If by chance he falls in with any one whose faults are past cure, he takes an opportunity of dismissing him quietly, thus untying, rather than rudely breaking, the bonds of friendship. But when he finds any who are truly sincere and of congenial temperament, he is so fond of conversing with them and telling them stories, that you would fancy he considered this the greatest pleasure of life, for he has an utter abhorrence of ball, dice, cards and other games with which most gentlemen beguile their hours of leisure. Moreover, while he is inattentive to his own interest, he is most diligent in looking after the business of his friends. In short, whoever wants a perfect pattern of true friendship, cannot possibly do better than to take it from the example of More.

In company, he possesses such rare courtesy and sweetness of manners as would cheer any heart, however sad, or alleviate the tedium of any situation, however disagreeable. From his boyhood, he was always as fond of jokes as if he had come into the world for no other purpose; yet he never went to the length of scurrility, nor could he bear to utter an unkind word. When a lad, he both wrote farces, and acted in them. So great is his love for pleasantry, especially if it be sharp and really clever, that he would enjoy a joke even at his own expense; and this led him, when he was a young man, to amuse himself by writing epigrams; indeed, it was he who instigated me to write my "Praise of Folly," which was as much in my way as for a camel to dance. There is nothing, however, in the world, not even in the most serious business, from which he will not extract amusement. In company with learned and sensible men he finds pleasure in intellectual converse; but among fools or silly people, he amuses himself with their folly; nor do the most foolish people annoy him, so extraordinary is his power of adapting himself to every character. With ladies, and even with his wife, he does nothing but laugh and joke. . . .

When he had been repeatedly sent on embassies, and in

these had acted with conspicuous discretion, the most serene king, Henry VIII., would not rest until he had dragged the man into the service of his court. For why should I not say, "dragged"? No one ever went about more laboriously to be admitted at court, than this man tried to escape it. But since this most excellent king had made up his mind to fill his household with learned, grave, discreet, and honourable men, as many others, so especially did he summon More, whom he has there held in the greatest intimacy, so that he will never let him leave him. If serious matters had to be considered, no one was more wise in counsel than he; if the king thought well to relax his mind with pleasant stories, no companion was more merry. If difficult cases demand a judge of special wisdom and gravity, More decides them so as to please both parties; and yet never was he prevailed on to receive a bribe from any one. Happy would it be for the world, if every king could employ such ministers of justice as More. Nor has he, in consequence of his elevation, become too proud to remember his humble friends; and amid the pressure of business, he yet finds time now and then to return to his beloved studies. Whatever power he has in virtue of his rank, whatever influence he enjoys through the favour of his sovereign, he uses it all for the good of his country and the good of his friends. At all times he was most anxious to confer favours without distinction, and always leaned in a marvellous degree to the side of mercy; and now, when he has more power, he indulges the spirit the more freely. He helps some with money, protects others by his authority; others he advances by his recommendations, while he aids with his advice those whom he cannot otherwise assist, and never sends any one from him dissatisfied. No one can be more ready to do a kindness, no one less exacting in looking for its repayment. Now, though he is in so many respects at the very pinnacle of good fortune, and although good fortune is usually accompanied by pride, I have never yet met any one who was more entirely free from that vice. He cultivates true piety diligently, though far removed from all superstition. He has hours in which he appeals to God in prayers suggested not by custom but by his heart. With his friends

he talks about the life of the world to come, in such a way that you will recognise that he speaks from the heart, and with the best of hopes.

Such is More at court. Yet there are those who think that Christians are not to be found anywhere except in monasteries. Such men this most wise king not only admits, . . . but compels into his household. . . .

153. Wolsey and the Young King.

Cavendish's "Life," p. 24. *Circa* 1555.

The king was young and lusty, disposed all to mirth and pleasure, and to follow his desire and appetite, nothing minding to travail in the busy affairs of this realm. The which the almoner perceiving very well, took upon him therefore to disburden the king of so weighty a charge and troublesome business, putting the king in comfort that he shall not need to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should necessarily happen in the council, so long as he, being there and having the king's authority and commandment, doubted not to see all things sufficiently furnished and perfected; the which would first make the king privy of all such matters as should pass through their hands before he would proceed to the finishing or determining of the same, whose mind and pleasure he would fulfil and follow to the uttermost, wherewith the king was wonderly pleased. And whereas the other ancient counsellors would, according to the office of good counsellors, diverse times persuade the king to have sometime an intercourse into the council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, the which pleased the king nothing at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do anything contrary to his royal will and pleasure; and that knew the almoner very well, having a secret intelligence of the king's natural inclination, and so fast as the other counsellors advised the king to leave his pleasure, and to attend to the affairs of his realm, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary; which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner.

154. The King's Zeal against Luther.

Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, I. p. 286.

Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey.

Please it your grace at mine arrival to the king this morning, I found him looking upon a book of Luther's, and his grace shewed unto me that it was a new work of the said Luther's. I looked upon the title thereof and perceived by the same that it is the same book, put into print, which your grace sent unto him by me, written. And upon such dispraise as his grace did give unto the said book I delivered the pope's bull and his brief, brought in my charge opportune, and with the which the king was well contented: here at length shewing unto me that it was very joyous to have these tidings from the pope's holiness at such time as he had taken upon him the defence of Christ's Church with his pen, before the receipt of the said tidings; and that he will make an end of his book within these [few weeks]; and desiring your grace to provide that within the same space all such as be appointed to examine Luther's books may be congregated together for his highness's perceiving; and by such things,—and I declared unto him by the pope's brief that this matter requireth hasty expedition,—will take the more pain for to make an end therein the sooner, and is condescended and agreeable to everything desired by your grace; that is to say, to write his letters to the Emperor and the Prince's Electors, and to send also such a person with the same as shall be seen most meet for that purpose; and to send his book not only to Rome, but also into France and other nations as shall appear convenient. So that all the Church is more bound to this good and virtuous prince for the vehement zeal he beareth unto the same, that I can express. . . .

155. A Description of Henry VIII.

Dispatch of Giustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador, "Calendar of State Papers," Venetian [Rolls Series], I. p. 559.

1519.

His majesty is twenty-nine years old and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is

much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the King of France; very fair and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I. wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and as it is reddish, he has now a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine jouster, speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish, is very religious, hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the queen's chamber, that is to say, vesper and compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take, and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture. He gambles with the French hostages, to the amount occasionally, it is said, of from 6000 to 8000 ducats in a day. He is affable and gracious, harms no one, does not covet his neighbour's goods, and is satisfied with his own dominions, having often said to me: "Sir Ambassador, we want all potentates to content themselves with their own territories; we are satisfied with this island of ours." He seems extremely desirous of peace.

He is very rich. His father left him ten millions of ready money in gold, of which he is supposed to have spent one-half in the war against France, when he had three armies on foot; one crossed the Channel with him, another was in the field against Scotland, and the third remained with the queen in reserve.

His revenues amount to about 350,000 ducats annually, and are derived from estates, forests and meres, the customs, hereditary and confiscated property, the duchies of Lancaster, York, Cornwall, and Suffolk, the county palatine of Chester and others, the principality of Wales, the export duties, the wool staple, the great seal, the annates yielded by Church benefices, the Court of Wards, and from New Year's gifts;

for on the first day of the year it is customary for his Majesty to make presents to everybody, but the value of those he receives in return greatly exceeds his own outlay. His majesty's expenses may be estimated at 100,000 ducats, those in ordinary having been reduced from 100,000 to 56,000, to which must be added 16,000 for salaries, 5000 for the stable, 5000 for the halberdiers, who have been reduced from 500 to 150, and 16,000 for the wardrobe, for he is the best-dressed sovereign in the world.

156. Wolsey suppresses Monasteries.

Edward Hall's "Chronicle" (ed. Whibley), ii. 31.

1524. Died 1547.

This season the cardinal, being in the king's favour, obtained licence to make a college at Oxford and another at Ipswich; and because he would give no lands to the said colleges he obtained of the Bishop of Rome licence to suppress and put down divers abbeys, priories and monasteries . . .; wherefore suddenly he entered by his commissioners into the said houses and put out the religious and took all their goods, moveables, and scarcely gave to the poor wretches anything, except it were to the heads of the house; and then he caused the exchequer to sit and to find the houses void, as relinquished, and found the king founder, where other men were founders. And with these lands he endowed withal his colleges, which he began so sumptuous and the scholars were so proud that every person judged that the end would not be good—as you shall hear, five years hereafter.

157. The Emperor and Wolsey.

1525. "Calendar of Spanish Papers," III., i. 286.

Monsieur le Cardinal,

If I have delayed writing to you until now, it has been owing to the strange and unaccountable proceedings of the king, my good father and brother, towards me. I cannot however persuade myself that your intentions were otherwise than good, knowing the care and solicitude you have always shown in our mutual affairs, and therefore will not withdraw

that trust and confidence I have always had in you, begging you will exert yourself to maintain and increase the friendship and affection which have hitherto existed between my good brother and myself, as you will see by the letter I have just written, and which my ambassadors have orders to place in his hands, in doing which I shall have occasion to know and appreciate your good intentions, just as you will also judge by the signature affixed, that mine are equally good and true.

Your true friend, CHARLES

12th of August, 1525.

153. DISCONTENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT

Edward Hall's "Chronicle" (ed. Whibley), ii. 30.

1525. Died 1547.

Now were commissioners sent to the clergy, for the fourth part of their lands and moveables; and in every assembly the priests answered that they would pay nothing, except it were granted by Convocation; otherwise, not. For they said that never King of England did ask any man's goods, but by an order of the law, and this commission is not by order of the law; wherefore they said that the cardinal and all the doers thereof were enemies to the king and to the commonwealth. This infamy was spoken in preachings and everywhere.

When this matter was opened through England, how the great men took it was marvel; the poor cursed, the rich repugned, the light wits railed, but in conclusion all people cursed the cardinal and his coadherents, as subversor of the laws and liberty of England. For they said, if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened at Reading in Berkshire that the commissioners sat for this money to be granted, and the people would in no wise consent to the sixth part; but of their own mere mind, for the love they bare to the king, they granted the twelfth part, that is twenty pence of the pound. The commissioners hearing this, said they would send to the cardinal, desiring him to be content with this offer, so that Sir Richard Weston would bear it; the which letter at the

request of the gentlemen of the country, the said Sir Richard took upon him to carry, and rode to the cardinal; which therewith was sore grieved and said so, but because that the Lord Lisle wrote that the matter was but communed of and not concluded, "it should cost the Lord Lisle his head, and his land should be sold to pay the king the values that by him and you foolish commissioners he had lost, and all your lives at the king's will." These words sore astonied Sir Richard Weston, but he said little.

Then the cardinal wrote letters to all commissioners of the realm that they should keep their first instruction, and in no wise to swerve one jot, upon pain of their lives, and every man to be valued according to the valuation taken in the fourteenth year. This last point sore touched the city of London, for the cardinal in the fourteenth year sent one Doctor Tunes, his secret chaplain, to the chapter-house of Paul's, promising to the Londoners that whatsoever they valued themselves at, that no man should know it but the king, the cardinal and he; upon which promise many persons for their more credit and to be the higher esteemed, valued themselves at a greater substance than they were worth, thinking never to lend or pay by that confession; for the loan and the subsidy were paid according as men were sessed and not by master Tunes' book, when men valued themselves, not knowing what should succeed.

Now in this time was that subtle valuation laid to their charge; which when they perceived, they murmured much and said they would pay nothing, except the king's laws—under which they were born, so determined it. But this notwithstanding, commissioners went out to every shire for the levy of the said money; but for all that could be persuaded, said, lied and flattered, the demand could not be assented to, saying that they that sent forth such commissioners were subverters of the law and worthy to be punished as traitors. So that in all the realm were bills set up in all places. Some bills said that the king had not paid that he borrowed; some said that the subsidy amounted to treble more than he had bestowed; others said, whatsoever was granted, no good came of it; and others said that the

cardinal sent all the money to Rome. Thus was the muttering through all the realm, with curses and weeping, that pity it was to behold.

159. Limitation of Sheep-Farming.

1534. "Record Office Calendar," vii. 73. [Merriman's "Thomas Cromwell" p. 373.] Modernised.

From Thomas Cromwell to Henry VIII.

Please it your most royal majesty to be advertised how that according to your most high pleasure and commandment I have made search for such patents and grants as your highness and also the most famous king your father—whose soul our Lord pardon—have granted unto Sir Richard Weston, knight, your under treasurer of your exchequer, and the same have sent to your highness herein closed. It may also please your most royal majesty to know how that yesterday there passed your Commons a bill that no person within this your realm shall hereafter keep and nourish above the number of 2000 sheep, and also that the eighth part of every man's land, being a farmer, shall for ever hereafter be put in tillage yearly; which bill, if by the great wisdom, virtue, goodness and zeal that your highness beareth towards this your realm, might have good success and take good effect among your lords above, I do conjecture and suppose in my poor, simple and unworthy judgment, that your highness shall do the most noble, profitable and most beneficial thing that ever was done to the commonwealth of this your realm, and shall thereby increase such wealth in the same amongst the great number and multitude for your most loving and obedient subjects as never was seen in this realm since Brutus' time. Most humbly prostrate at the feet of your magnificence, I beseech your highness to pardon my boldness in thus writing to your grace; which only proceedeth for the truth, duty, allegiance and love I do bear to your majesty and the commonwealth of this your realm, as our Lord knoweth; unto whom I shall, as I am most bounden, incessantly pray for the countenance and prosperous conservation of your most excellent, most royal and imperial estate long to endure.

160. The Act of Supremacy.

1534. "Statutes of the Realm," iii. 492.

Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England called *Anglicana Ecclesia;* and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well as the title and crown thereof, all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of the supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this realm, any usage, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

161. Glastonbury: the Commissioners' Report to Cromwell.

"Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries" (ed. Thomas Wright), p. 255 [Camden Society]. Spelling modernised.

Please it your lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glastonbury on Friday last past, about ten of the clock in the

forenoon; and for that the abbot was then at Sharpham, a place of his a mile and somewhat more from the abbey, we, without any delay, went into the same place, and there examined him upon certain articles. And for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had then forgotten, and so declare the truth, and then came with him the same day to the abbey, and there anew proceeded that night to search his study for letters and books; and found in his study secretly laid, as well a written book of arguments against the divorce of the king's majesty and the lady dowager, which we take to be a great matter, as also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Becket in print; but we could not find any letter that was material. And so we proceeded again to his examination concerning the articles we received from your lordship, in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his cankered and traitorous heart and mind against the king's majesty and his succession. And so with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence into the tower, being but a very weak man and sickly. And as yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk; but now the abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the despatching of them. We have in money £300 and above; but the certainty of plate and other stuff there as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same, but shortly we intend—God willing—to proceed to the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship as shortly as we may.

This is also to advertise your lordship, that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have been there in times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same. It may please your lordship to advertise us of the king's pleasure by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver the custody and keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to leave there convenient to the king's use. We assure your lordship it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We would that your lordship did know it as we do; then we doubt not but your lordship

would judge it a house meet for the king's majesty and for no man else: which is to our great comfort; and we trust verily that there shall never come any double hood within that house again.

Also this is to advertise your lordship, that there is never a doctor within that house; but there be three bachelors of divinity, which be but meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our lord preserve your good lordship.

162. The Act of the Six Articles.

Edward Hall's "Chronicle" (ed. Whibley), ii. 284. Died 1547.

1539.

In this parliament was an act made which bare this title: *An Act for abolishing of diversity of opinions, in certain articles concerning Christian religion.* This act established chiefly six articles; whereof among the common people it was called the act of six articles; and of some it was named the whip with six strings, and of some other and that of the most part it was named the bloody statute; for of truth it in short time after scourged a great number in the city of London.

163. Catholic Reaction.

"Statutes at Large," 34 Henry VIII. c. 1.

1545.

Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolic Church for the decision of controversies; and therefore all books of the Old and New Testaments in English, being of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian religion, articles of the faith, or Holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth since *Anno Dom.* 1540, or to be set forth by the king, shall be abolished. No printer or bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid books. No person shall play in interlude, sing, or rhyme, contrary to the said doctrine. No person shall retain any English books or writings concerning matter against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or for the maintenance of anabaptists, or other books abolished by the king's proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in

any church. No women or artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the king's instructions. And if any spiritual person preach, teach, or maintain anything contrary to the king's instructions or determinations, made or to be made, and shall be thereof convict, he shall for his first offence recant, for his second abjure and bear a fagot, and for his third shall be adjudged an heretic, and be burned and lose all his goods and chattels.

164. HUGH LATIMER AND THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

Latimer's First Sermon, in Arber's Reprints, p. 38.

1549. Spelling modernised.

. . . You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that heretofore went for xx or xl pound by year (which is an honest portion to be had *gratis* in one lordship, of another man's sweat and labour) now is it let for fifty or a hundred pound by year. Of this too much cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts; notwithstanding too much, which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men (which live of their labour) can not with the sweat of their face have a living, all kinds of victuals is so dear, pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c.

These things with other are so unreasonably enhanced. And I think verily, that if this continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound. I will tell you my lords and masters, this is not for the king's honour. Yet some will say: Knowest thou what belongeth unto the king's honour better than we? I answer that the true honour of a king, is most perfectly mentioned and pointed forth in the Scriptures, of which, if ye be ignorant, for lack of time that ye cannot read it, albeit, that your counsel be never so politic, yet is it not for the king's honour. What his honour meaneth ye cannot tell. It is the king's honour that his

subjects be led in the true religion. That all his prelates and clergy be set about their work in preaching and studying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the king's honour that the common wealth be advanced, that the dearth of these foresaid things be provided for, and the commodities of this Realm so employed, as it may be to the setting his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. And herein rested the king's honour and his office; so doing, his account before God shall be allowed and rewarded. Furthermore, if the king's honour (as some men say) standeth in the great multitude of people, then these graziers, enclosers and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king's honour; for where there have been a great many of householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog; so they hinder the king's honour most of all. My lords and masters, I say also, that all such proceedings are against the king's honour (as I have a part declared before), and as far as I can perceive, do intend plainly, to make the yeomanry slavery and the clergy slavery. For such works are all singular, private wealth and commodity. We of the clergy had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little. But for mine own part I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the king I have sufficient, and God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man anything; but I know them that have too little. There lieth a great matter by these appropriations, great reformations is to be had in them. I know where is a great market-town with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pound, and the vicar that serveth (being so great a cure) hath but twelve or fourteen marks by year, so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the great gain goeth another way. My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I

buckled his harness, when he went unto Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles a piece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God.

He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours. And some alms he gave to the poor, and all this did he of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor. Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth; so that where ye had a single too much, you have that; and since the same, ye hath enhanced the rent, and so have increased another too much; so now ye have double too much, which is two too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the common wealth as touching commoners, enclosers, many meetings and sessions, but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. . . .

165. From the Primer or Book of Private Prayer authorised by King Edward VI.

The Parker Society. P. 458. 1884.

The earth is thine O Lord, and all that is contained within; notwithstanding thou hast given the possession therof unto the children of men to pass over the time of their short pilgrimage in this vale of misery; we heartily pray thee to send Thy holy spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds, pastures and dwelling-places of the earth; that they remembering themselves to be Thy tenants, may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldings, but so let them out to other, that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents, and also honestly to live, to nourish their families and to relieve the poor. Give them grace also to consider that they are but strangers and pilgrims in this

world, having here no dwelling-place, but seeking one to come; that they, remembering the short continuance of their life, may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house, nor couple land to land to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling-places, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

166. Queen Mary.

1554. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador, "Calendar of State Papers," Venetian, No. 934 [Rolls].

Her majesty's countenance indicates great benignity and clemency, which are not belied by her conduct, for although she has had many enemies, and though so many of them were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely on her majesty's will, not one of them perhaps would have been enforced; but deferring to her council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others rather than with her own. She is endowed with excellent ability, and more than moderately read in Latin literature, especially with regard to Holy Writ; and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French, and Spanish, and understands Italian perfectly, out does not speak it. . . .

She is so confirmed in the Catholic religion that although the king her brother and his council prohibited her from having the mass celebrated according to the Roman Catholic ritual, she nevertheless had it performed in secret, nor did she ever choose by any act to assent to any other form of religion, her belief in that in which she was born being so strong that had the opportunity offered she would have displayed it at the stake, her hopes being placed in God alone, so that she constantly exclaims: "*In te Domine confido, non confundar in æternum: si Deus est pro nobis, quis contra nos?*" Her majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet, and is a very good performer on both instruments; and indeed before her accession she taught many of her maids of honour. But she seems to delight above all in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently

167. The Attempt to restore Church Lands.

1554. Somers' "Tracts," i. 56

A Speech of Queen Mary to her Council upon her Resolution of restoring Church Lands.

We have willed you to be called to us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions, as well as of monasteries as other churches whatsoever, being now in my possession.

First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the Church; for which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse, either to claim or retain those lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all faction or condition, here and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatever; and renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to the pope, or his legate, to the honour of God, and the wealth of this our realm. And albeit you may object to me again, that the state of my kingdom, the dignity thereof and my crown imperial, cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding—and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the restitution of the tenths and first-fruits—I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten such kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, after that sort and title; and I give most hearty thanks to God, who hath given me a husband of the same mind, who hath no less good affection in this behalf, than I myself. Wherefore I charge and command that my chancellor, with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter, and you four, to resort tomorrow together to the legate, signifying to him the premises in my name. And give your attendance upon me, for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the

aforesaid possessions, according as yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

168. The Treatment of Bishop Hooper.

Foxe, "Book of Martyrs" (ed. Dr. Clarke), p. 421.
1553–58. Contemporary.

Other men commonly are wont for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them. From this sort of men Hooper was very different. He abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. . . . As for the revenues of his bishoprics, he pursued nothing but bestowed it in hospitality. I was twice, as I remember, in his house at Worcester, where in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk; and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the city in turns, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome meats; and when they were served—being previously examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's Prayer, the articles of their faith and ten commandments—then he himself sat down to dinner and not before. . . .

. . . King Edward being dead and Mary being crowned Queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for to come to London.

Hooper wrote the following report of his treatment in the Fleet, with his own hand, January 7, 1554;

"On the 1st of September, 1553, I was committed to the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden of fees; who immediately upon the payment, complained to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower chamber of the Fleet and used very extremely. Then

by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, though not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner or supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the Bishop of Winchester.

"About one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass, and thereupon the warden resorted to the Bishop of Winchester and obtained leave to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking; until, by God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. On one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

"During all the time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps and chains being all closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast and charged that none of his men should come to me, saying: 'Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.' . . .

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months; my goods, living, friends and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to support me, neither is there suffered any one to come to me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be my life or death."

On March 19, 1554, he was called before the Bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, Chichester and other

the queen's commissioners, when not being permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics. . . .

On Monday morning, February 4 [1555], the Bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Hooper, and he was ordered to be taken to Gloucester, to be there burned, to which place he accordingly was removed under guard. . . .

He was three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb he patiently bore the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards or to any side; but having his lower parts burned . . . he died as quietly as a child in his bed; and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundation of the world; for whose constance all Christians are bound to praise God.

169. The Loss of Calais.

Grafton, "Chronicle," ii. 557 (ed. 1809).
1558. Died about 1572.

At this time, although open hostility and war were between England and France, yet, contrary to the ancient custom afore used, the town of Calais and the forts thereabout were not supplied with any new accrues of soldiers; and this negligence was not unknown to the enemy, who, long before, had plotted the winning of the said town and country. The French king therefore—being sharply nettled with the late loss of St. Quentin and a great piece of his country adjoining, and desirous of revenge—thought it not meet to let slip this occasion; and having presently a full army in readiness to employ where most advantage should appear, determined to put in proof, with all speed, the enterprise of Calais; which long, and many times before, was purposed upon.

This design was not so secret but that the deputies of Calais and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof, and informed the queen and her council accordingly; nevertheless either by wilful negligence there, or lack of credit by the queen's council here, this great case was so slenderly regarded that no provision of defence was made until it was somewhat too late.

The Duke of Guise, being general of the French army,

proceeded in this enterprise with marvellous policy. For approaching the English frontier, under cover to victual Boulogne and Ardres, he entered upon the same on a sudden, and took a little bulwark called Sandgate by assault. The next day the Frenchmen, with five double cannons and three culverins, began a battery from the sandhills next Risbank, against the town of Calais; and continued the same by the space of two or three days, until they made a little breach in the wall next unto the Water Gate, which nevertheless was not yet assaultable; for that which was broken in the day, was by them within the town made up again in the night, stronger than before. But the battery was not begun there by the French because they intended to enter in that place; but rather to abuse the English, to have the less regard to the defence of the castle, which was the weakest part of the town, and the place where they were ascertained, by their espials, to win an easy entry. . . .

The same night, after the recule of the Frenchmen, whose number so increased in the castle, that the town was not able to resist their force, the Lord Wentworth, deputy of Calais, sent a pursuivant called Guisnes, unto the Duke of Guise, requiring a composition; which, after long debate, was agreed to, upon this sort: that the town with all the great artillery, victuals and munition, should be freely yielded to the French king; that the lives of the inhabitants only should be saved, to whom safe conduct should be granted to pass where they listed; and that the lord deputy, with fifty others, such as the duke should appoint, should remain prisoners, and be put to their ransom.

The next morning the Frenchmen entered and possessed the town. Thus have ye heard the discourse of the overthrow and loss of the town of Calais, an enterprise which was begun and ended in less than eight days, to the great marvel of the world, that a town of such strength, and so well furnished with all things as that was, should so suddenly be taken and conquered—but most especially in the winter season, when all the country about, being marsh ground, is commonly overflown with water.

170. The Act of Supremacy.

1559. "Statutes of the Realm," iv., pt. I. 351.

An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same.

[The first six clauses are largely taken up with repealing and reviving recent legislation.]

VII. And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used nor obeyed within this realm or any other of your majesty's dominions or countries; may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, authority, pre-eminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other of your majesty's dominions or countries that now be or hereafter shall be, but from henceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other your highness's dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions or any other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Foreign jurisdictions abolished.

VIII. And that also it may likewise please your highness that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order and correction of the same and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; and that your highness shall have full power to authorise . . . such persons as you shall think meet

The supreme ecclesiastical power vested in the Crown.

. . . to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such heresies, errors, schisms, and abuses which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power . . . can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, corrected, restrained or amended.

IX., X., XI., and XII. [All ecclesiastics, laymen doing homage, and University graduates to take an oath in the sense of the two preceding clauses; dismissal of ecclesiastics for refusal.]

XIV. [Open detractors of the new order to be liable to be attainted for high treason.]

XV. Provided always, that such persons . . . to whom your highness shall . . . give authority to . . . visit, reform, order or correct any errors, heresies . . . or enormities by virtue of this Act, shall not in any wise have authority to . . . adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as have heretofore been determined to be heresy by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures or by the first four General Councils or any of them . . . or such as hereafter shall be . . . determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their Convocation.

[The Act contains in all twenty-four clauses; many are concerned with such matters as the limitations of date for liability, the judgment of peers, &c.]

171. The Act of Uniformity.

1559. "Statutes of the Realm," iv., pt. i. 355.

An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Divine Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments.

Where at the death of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, there remained one uniform order of common Service and Prayer and of the administration of Sacraments, rites and ceremonies in the Church of England, which was set forth in one book intituled the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England, authorised by Act of Parliament holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late sovereign lord King

Restoration of Ed. VI.'s Prayer Book.

Edward the Sixth, intituled an Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; the which was repealed and taken away by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign lady Queen Mary, to the great decay of the true honour of God and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion: Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that the said Statute of Repeal and everything therein contained, only concerning the said book and the service, administration of Sacraments, rites and ceremonies contained or appointed in or by the said book shall be void and of none effect from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming; and that the said book, with the Order of Service and of the administration of Sacraments, rites and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute, shall stand and be from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this statute; anything in the aforesaid Statute of Repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. And further be it enacted that . . . if any manner of parson . . . that ought to sing or say Common Prayers mentioned in the said book or to minister the Sacraments, refuse to use the said Common Prayers or to minister the Sacraments . . . in such order or form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book . . . or shall preach, declare, or speak anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book or anything therein contained or of any part thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession or by the notorious evidence of the fact, he shall lose and forfeit to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices . . . arising in the whole year next after his conviction, and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail.

III. . . . And it is ordained and enacted that every person inhabiting within this realm or any other the queen's majesty's dominions shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or

reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed . . . and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the Common Prayer . . . there to be used . . . ; upon pain of punishment by the Censurers of the Church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve pence, to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish.

IV. [Exhortations to bishops, &c., duly to have the law carried out.]

V. And it is ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every Justices of Oyer and Determiner or Justices of Assize shall have full power and authority in every of their open and general sessions to inquire, hear and determine all and all manner of offences that shall be committed or done contrary to any article contained in this present Act within the limits of the commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person being indicted before them of trespass or lawfully convicted thereof.

Power given to the Justices.

VI.–XI. [Limitations of date and authority.]

XIII. Provided always and be it enacted, That such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the queen's majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the Great Seal of England for ecclesiastical causes, or of the Metropolitan of this realm: and also that, if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church by the misusing of the orders appointed in this book, the queen's majesty may by the like advice of the said commissioners or Metropolitan ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His Church and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments.

Retention of Ornaments.

172. The First Commission.

1559. Holinshed, "Chronicles," iv. 204. 1578.

We do give our full power and authority to you, or six of you . . . to inquire into all offences committed contrary to the tenor of the said acts, and into all heretical opinions, seditious books, conspiracies and misbehaviours . . . invented or set forth against us . . . and you shall have full power and authority to award punishment to every offender by fine, imprisonment or otherwise, and to take such order for the redress of the same as to your wisdom shall be thought meet and convenient.

Per ipsam reginam.

Witness the Queen at Westminster,
the 19th day of July.

173. An Act for the Maintenance of the Navy.

"An Act touching Politick Constitutions for the Maintenance of the Navy," 5 Eliz. c. 5. "Statutes at
1566. Large" (Cambridge, 1763), VI. 179, 185.

XIV. And for increase of provision of fish by the more usual and common eating thereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from the feast of St. *Michael* the Archangel in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred sixty-four, every Wednesday in every week throughout the whole year, which heretofore hath not by the laws or customs of this realm been used and observed as a fish-day, and which shall not happen to fall in *Christmas* week or *Easter* week, shall be hereafter observed and kept, as the Saturdays in every week be or ought to be: (2) and that no manner of person shall eat any flesh on the same day, otherwise than ought to be upon the common Saturday.

XV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, for the benefit and commodity of this realm, to grow as well in maintenance of the navy, as in sparing and increase of flesh victual of this realm, That from and after the feast of *Pentecost* next coming it shall not be lawful to any person or persons within this realm to eat any flesh upon any days now usually observed as fish-days, or upon any Wednesday now

newly limited to be observed as fish-day ; (2) upon pain that every person offending herein shall forfeit three pound for every time he or they shall offend, or else suffer three months close imprisonment without bail or mainprize.

XXXIX. And because no manner of person shall misjudge of the intent of this estatute, limiting orders to eat fish, and to forbear eating of flesh, but that the same is purposely intended and meant politically for the increase of fishermen and mariners, and repairing of port-towns and navigation, and not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice of meats.

XL. Be it enacted, That whosoever shall by preaching, teaching, writing or open speech notify, that any eating of fish, or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other politick laws are and be ; that then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news are and ought to be.

174. QUEEN ELIZABETH DISCUSSES HER MARRIAGE.

"Speech of Queen Elizabeth to Parliament," 1566. (Sir Simon d'Ewes, "Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," London, 1682.)

1566.

My Lords, and others the Commons of this Assembly.

Although the Lord Keeper hath, according to Order, very well Answered in my Name, yet as a Periphrasis I have a few words further, to speak unto you : Nothwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open Assemblies ; yet now (not to the end to amend his talk) but remembring, that commonly Princes own words be better printed in the hearers memory, than those spoken by her Command, I mean to say thus much unto you. I have in this Assembly found so much dissimulation, where I always professed plainness, that I marvail thereat, yea two Faces under one Hood, and the Body rotten, being covered with two Vizors, Succession and Liberty, which they determined must be either presently granted, denied or deferred. In granting whereof, they had

their desires, and denying or deferring thereof (those things being so plaudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to work me that mischief, which never Foreign Enemy could bring to pass, which is the hatred of my Commons. But alas they began to pierce the Vessel before the Wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end, how by this means I have seen my well-willers from mine Enemies, and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four.

First the Broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest fault. Secondly, The Speakers, who by Eloquent Tales perswaded others, are in the next degree. Thirdly, The agreers, who being so light of Credit, that the eloquence of the Tales so overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto, than unto their own Wits. And lastly, those that sate still Mute, and medled not therewith, but rather wondred disallowing the matter; who in my Opinion, are most to be Excused.

But do you think, that either I am unmindful of your Surety by Succession, wherein is all my Care, considering I know my self to be mortal? No, I warrant you: Or that I went about to break your Liberties? No, it was never in my meaning, but to stay you before you fell into the Ditch. For all things have their time. And although perhaps you may have after me one better Learned, or Wiser; yet I assure you, none more careful over you: And therefore henceforth whether I live to see the like Assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware however you prove your Princes Patience, as you have now done mine. And now to conclude, all this nothwithstanding (not meaning to make a Lent of Christmas) the most part of you may assure your selves, that you depart in your Princes Grace.

175. Parliament and the Queen's Marriage.

1566. "Commons' Journals," i. 76, 77. (Quoted in Prothero's "Sel. Stat.," p. 118.)

November 9.—Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declared the queen's majesty's express commandment to this house, that they should no further proceed in their suit, but to satisfy themselves with her highness's promise of marriage. . . .

November 11.—Paul Wentworth, one of the burgesses, moved whether the queen's commandment was not against the liberties: whereupon arose divers arguments, continuing from nine of the clock till two afternoon.

November 12.—Mr. Speaker, being sent for to attend upon the queen's majesty at the court . . . at his coming after ten of the clock, began to show that he had received a special commandment from her highness to this house, notwithstanding her first commandment that there should not be further talk of that matter: and if any person thought himself not satisfied but had further reasons, let him come before the Privy Council, there to show them.

November 25.—Mr. Speaker, coming from the queen's majesty, declared her highness's pleasure to be that, for her good will to the house, she did revoke her two former commandments, requiring the house no further at this time to proceed in the matter, which revocation was taken of all the house most joyfully with most hearty prayer and thanks for the same.

176. The Papal Bull of Deposition.

1570. Holinshed's translation, "Chronicles," iv. 252. 1578.

Pius, bishop, servant of God's servants, etc: She, queen Elizabeth, hath clean put away the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, choice or difference of meats and single life. She invaded the kingdom, and by usurping monstrously the place of the supreme head of the Church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction of the same, hath again brought the said realm into miserable destruction. She hath removed the noblemen of England from the king's council. She hath made her council of poor, dark, beggarly fellows and hath placed them over the people. These councillors are not only poor and beggarly, but also heretics. Unto her all such as are the worst of the people resort and are by her received in safe protection, etc.

We make it known that Elizabeth aforesaid and as many as stand on her side in the matters abovenamed have run into the danger of our curse. We make it also known that

we have deprived her from that right she pretended to have in the kingdom aforesaid, and also from all and every her authority, dignity and privilege. We charge and forbid all and every the nobles and subjects and peoples and others aforesaid, that they be not so hardy as to obey her or her will, or commandments or laws, upon pain of the like accurse upon them. We pronounce that all whosoever by any occasion have taken their oath unto her, are for ever discharged of such their oath, and also from all fealty and service, which was due to her by reason of her government, etc.

177. Lord Burleigh.

A Member of his Household, in Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa."

In cases depending before him in justice, he regarded neither friend nor enemy. I have heard him often very sharply reprehend his men for bringing suits before him, which were not on good grounds; and he would force them rather to compound then sue. In cases of justice none could ever do him a greater despite than to offer him anything, as myself can witness. For I have seen him refuse a buck, and many pieces of plate at New-year's tide. And to offer him money was to offend him, so they fared the worse who did so, he ever saying, "I will take nothing of you, you having a cause depending before me." And I dare avow it, there was never any man living could procure him to take a penny, in any cause depending before him, in any court of justice.

Now here was justice, without reward or respect! An upright judge indeed, stopping his eyes and ears and closing his hands; neither seeing, hearing, feeling or knowing the great rich man from the poorest fool! His reward is praise in this world and glory in the next. God send us more such, and that his example may cause others to imitate his virtues.

His kindness was most expressed to his children, to whom there was never any more loving or tender-hearted. And—which is ever a note of good nature—if he could get his table

set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom; and it was an exceeding pleasure to hear what sport he would make with them, and how aptly and merrily he would talk with them, with such pretty questions and witty allurements, as much delighted himself, the children and the hearers. Thus he was happy in most worldly things, but most happy in his children and children's children.

His temperate mind ever tempered all his actions, and with his wisdom governed the whole course of his life, in such a moderate carriage of his great fortune, as he liked best and most desired mean and private things, hating all pomp and glorious shows. For if he might ride privately in his garden, upon his little mule, or lie a day or two at his little lodge at Theobalds, retired from business or too much company, he thought it his greatest greatness and only happiness, thereby showing he was not high minded with his high fortune. Or if he could get any of his old acquaintance, who could discourse of their youth, or of things past in old time, it was notable to hear what merry stories he would tell. It was said of him that he could call to mind any thing he had done, seen or read. . . . He was of a spare and temperate diet, and the finest feeder of any man that ever I saw, eating never but of two or three dishes, drinking never above thrice at a meal and very seldom wine. . . .

And above all things, what business soever was in his head, it was never perceived at his table; where he would be so merry, as one would imagine he had nothing else to do; directing his speech to all men, according to their qualities and capacities, so as he raised mirth out of all men's speeches, augmenting it with his own; whereby he wanted no comapny, so long as he was able to keep company. . . . His speeches though they were merry yet were so full of wisdom as many came rather to hear his speeches than to eat his meat; for ever in his ordinary talk, he uttered so many notable things as one might learn more in an hour's hearing of him, than in a month's reading. . . .

His eloquence was his plainness in familiar common words, without affectation; wherein it was observed in him as a thing strange, that, in so plain terms as commonly he used,

his eloquence was so excellent, that what he spake was impossible to be delivered more rhetorically, clearly, and significantly, the whole being easy to be understood and remembered, and yet beyond the eloquence of others thought to be most eloquent. . . .

His recreation was chiefly in his book, wherewith, if he had time, he was more delighted, than others with play at cards; or if he could get a learned man to talk withal, he was much pleased; and it was notable to hear how learned he could dispute with, or rather confute learned men of any profession, for nothing came amiss to him, wherein he could not say something. . . .

He hated idleness and loved no idle persons, but ever encouraged and favoured the industrious; and it was notable to see his continual agitation both of body and mind, for he was ever more weary of a little idleness than of great labour. If he had nothing of necessity to do, he would yet busy himself, either in reading, writing or meditation, and was never less idle than when he had most leisure to be idle. His great pains got him great knowledge, and his continual practice, deep experience; so that what was to others most difficult, he could despatch with the greatest facility.

Besides his dexterity in executing whatever was to be done his general knowledge of all things in action or experience, in all learning and reading, was such, that he carried in his head what others sought in books, precedents and records. What office was there, wherein he had not experience? What court of justice, whereof he knew not the course? What province, county, city or notable place in England, could he not describe? Again, in what service, abroad or at home, was he ignorant or not perfectly practised? He knew and had seen all manners of treaties with all nations. He knew the course and kinds of embassies and could direct all ambassadors. He knew the state of all countries; the nature of all princes, their friends, foes, alliances, matches and pedigrees. He was also privy to their politics and practices, and often prevented their purposes. In weighty affairs of council he was most expert; in the policy of peace, in directions of war, in provisions for soldiers and ships, in

proceedings of parliament, in all courts of justice, in public speeches or private conference, and in all gifts of a great counsellor and a wise man, rather able to direct all, than to be amended by any.

Thus his long experience, great age and grey hairs, his painful service so long in such a place, his incessant study and labour, and the great delight he took in reading, meditation, practice and agitation of mind, joined with his great wit, learning and memory, as it were with one consent and true harmony, all made their rendezvous or receptacle of all the perfections of wisdom and virtue in him, framing in him all the parts of a wise, godly, worthy and perfect counsellor, such as may long be sought but seldom seen, and for all respects, so worthy and notable a man, as neither experience of this age, nor writers of former, can describe or produce.

He observed all daily accidents, writing down whatsoever passed; this he continued from the time he was nineteen years old, even till he died.

178. The Bishop of London's Advice to Cecil.

1572. Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, iii. 23.

[The following is appended to the bishop's letter, reflecting on the recent massacre of St. Bartholomew.]

1. Forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head.

2. To remove from our queen papists and such as by private persuasion overthrow good counsel.

3. The queen's majesty to be guarded strongly with protestants; and others to be removed.

4. Order must be taken for the safe keeping of the Tower, and for good order to be had in London for strengthening of the city, and that they receive no papist of strength to sojourn there this winter.

5. A firm league to be made with the young Scottish king and the protestants there.

6. A league to be made with the princes protestant of Germany, offensive and defensive.

7. The chief papists of this realm are to be shut up in the Tower, and the popish old bishops to be returned thither.

8. The Gospel earnestly to be promoted, and the church not burdened with unnecessary ceremonies.

9. The protestants, which only are faithful subjects, are to be comforted, preferred and placed in authority; the papists are to be displaced.

These put in execution, would turn to God's glory, the safety of the queen's majesty and make the realm flourish and stand.

179. Parliament and Mary, Queen of Scots.

D'Ewes, "Journals," pp. 380–402. (Quoted by Prothero, "Sel. Stat.," p. 109.)

1586.

May it please your most excellent majesty, we, your humble, loving and faithful subjects, the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, having of longtime to our intolerable grief, seen by how manifold, most dangerous and execrable practices, Mary . . . commonly called the Queen of Scots, hath compassed the destruction of your majesty's sacred and most royal person . . . and thereby not only to bereave us of the sincere and true religion of Almighty God, bringing us and this noble crown back again into the thraldom of the Romish tyranny, but also utterly to ruinate and overthrow the happy state and commonweal of this realm: and seeing also what insolent boldness is grown in the heart of the same queen, through your majesty's former exceeding favours towards her; and thereupon weighing, with heavy and sorrowful hearts, in what continual peril of suchlike desperate conspiracies and practices your majesty's most royal and sacred person and life (more dear unto us than our own) is and shall be still, without any possible means to prevent it, so long as the said Scottish queen shall be suffered to continue, and shall not receive that due punishment which, by justice and the laws of this your realm, she hath so often and so many ways, for her most wicked and detestable offences, deserved: therefore . . . we do most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty that, as well in respect of the continuance of the true religion now professed among us and of the safety of your most royal person and estate, as in regard of the preservation and

defence of us your most loving, dutiful and faithful subjects and the whole commonwealth of this realm, it may please your highness to take speedy order, that declaration of the same sentence and judgment be made and published by proclamation, and that thereupon direction be given for further proceedings against the said Scottish queen, according to the effect and true meaning of the said statute: because, upon advised and great consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety, but by the just and speedy execution of the said queen: . . . and if the same be not put in present execution, we your most loving and dutiful subjects, shall thereby (so far as man's reason can reach) be brought into utter despair of the continuance amongst us of the true religion of Almighty God, and of your majesty's life, and the safety of all your faithful subjects, and the good estate of this most flourishing commonweal.

The Queen's Answer, November 24, 1586.

That her highness, moved with some commiseration for the Scottish queen, in respect of her former dignity and great fortunes in her younger years, her nearness of kindred to her majesty and also of her sex, could be well pleased to forbear the taking of her blood, if by any other means to be devised by her highness's Great Council of this realm, the safety of her majesty's person and government might be preserved, without danger of ruin and destruction, and else not; therein leaving them all nevertheless to their own free liberty and dispositions of proceeding otherwise at their choice.

To which the Houses made Reply.

That having often conferred and debated on that question, according to her highness's commandment, they could find no other way than was set down in their petition.

The Queen's Second Answer.

If I should say unto you that I mean not to grant your petition, by my faith I should say unto you more than perhaps I mean. And if I should say unto you I mean to grant your petition, I should then tell you more than is fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you an answer answerless,

180. Elizabeth and Mary's Execution: Letter to James VI.

1586. Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 22.

My dear Brother,

I would you knew—though not felt—the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine (Sir Robert Carey) whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that, as God and many more know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me that if I had bid aught I would have abided by it. I am not so base-minded that fear of any living creature or prince should make me afraid to do what were just or make me deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But, as not to disguise fits not a king, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them show even as I meant them. Thus assure yourself of me, that as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on others' shoulders, no more will I damnify myself, that thought it not.

The circumstance it may please you to have of this bearer. And for your part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman, nor a more dear friend than myself: nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate. And who shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more partial to others than you. And thus in haste I leave to trouble you: beseeching God to send you a long reign. The 14th of Feb., 1586.

Your most assured loving sister and cousin,

Elizab. R.

181. The Marquis of Santa Cruz urges Delay.

1587. "Calendar of Venetian Papers," viii. p. 320.

[The marquis has suggested the advisability of postponing the Armada till the following March, and has pointed out objections against sending it to Scotland or Ireland rather than to England. . . .]

Sire,

. . . If it be really decided to go to England itself I would only observe that this Armada, even when united with

the troops of the Duke of Parma, which would at this season be embarked and carried over the straits with no small difficulty, does not seem to me sufficient to attempt this enterprise in the very heart of the winter. We have no harbours at hand in case of need, and the tide is extremely strong, the sea all open to the south winds. Nor, in my opinion, would it be such an easy matter to take the Isle of Wight, or any other harbour, for the shelter of our fleet, as is represented to your majesty by those who stake nothing on the risk, and have not been taught the difference between victory and defeat. . . .

If, after all, your majesty should insist on my sailing, be assured that you will not have either officer or private who will risk his life with greater alacrity, courage and ardour. But, as I have humbly expressed it, my opinion is that the sailing of the Armada should be delayed, if not till March, at least till the middle of February, to allow the weather to grow milder. And your majesty must remember that should any misfortune befall the fleet, which God forbid, it would be impossible to put together another such Armada for a long time to come. To me it seems that a sovereign with such a reputation in the world would not allow himself to be swept away by a thirst for vengeance ; and true praise and glory do not depend upon rapidity but upon success of action. Should your majesty resolve to accept my advice I would still recommend that the rumour should be circulated that the fleet is to sail at once, with a view to frightening the Queen into an open course of action and compelling her to instruct her agents to deal in earnest with the question of the total restoration of Holland and Zealand.

All these considerations I have thought it my duty to lay before your majesty, whose pardon I crave for my boldness which is born of my ardent desire to serve you ; accept the assurance of my readiness to spend my life on the smallest sign from your majesty, to whose royal and serene person may God grant increase of state and all other happiness and prosperity.

182. The Armada: Despatches to Walsingham from English Commanders.

"State Papers relating to Defeat of Spanish Armada"
1588. (ed. J. K. Laughton), ccxii. 8o.

(i)

Sir,

I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off the Lizard; whereupon, although the wind was very scant, we first warped out of harbour that night, and upon Saturday turned out very hardly, the wind being at South-west; and about three of the clock in the afternoon, descried the Spanish fleet, and did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning we had recovered, descrying their fleet to consist of 120 sail, whereof there are four galleasses, and many ships of great burden.

At nine of the clock we gave them fight, which continued until one. In this fight we made some of them to bear room to stop their leaks; nothwithstanding we durst not adventure to put in among them, their fleet being so strong. But there shall be nothing either neglected or unhazarded, that may work their overthrow.

Sir, the captains in her majesty's ships have behaved themselves most bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubt not will continue, to their great commendation. And so, recommending our good success to your godly prayers, I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard the *Ark*, thwart of Plymouth, the 21st of July, 1588.

Your very loving friend,

C. Howard.

Sir, the southerly wind that brought us back from the coast of Spain brought them out. God blessed us with turning us back. Sir, for the love of God and our country, let us have with some speed some great shot sent us of all bigness; for this service will continue long; and some powder with it.

(ii)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

This bearer came aboard the ship I was in in a wonderful good time, and brought with him as good knowledge as we could wish. His carefulness therein is worthy recompense, for that God has given us so good a day in forcing the enemy so far to leeward as I hope in God the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Sidonia shall not shake hands this few days; and whensoever they shall meet, I believe neither of them will greatly rejoice of this day's service. The town of Calais hath seen some part thereof, whose mayor her majesty is beholden unto. Business commands me to end. God bless her majesty, our gracious sovereign, and give us all grace to live in His fear. I assure your honour this day's service hath much appalled the enemy, and no doubt but encouraged our army. From aboard her majesty's good ship the *Revenge*, this 29th of July 1588.

Your honour's most ready to be commanded,

FRA. DRAKE.

There must be great care taken to send us munition and victual whithersoever the enemy goeth.

Yours, FRA DRAKE.

(iii)

My bounden duty humbly remembered unto your good lordship:—I have not busied myself to write often to your lordship in this great cause, for that my lord admiral doth continually advertise the manner of all things that doth pass. So do others that understand the state of all things as well as myself. We met with this fleet somewhat to the westward of Plymouth upon Sunday in the morning, being the 21st of July, where we had some small fight with them in the afternoon. By the coming aboard one of the other of the Spaniards, a great ship, a Biscayan, spent her foremast and bowsprit; which was left by the fleet in the sea, and so taken up by Sir Francis Drake the next morning. The same Sunday there was, by a fire chancing by a barrel of powder, a great Biscayan spoiled and abandoned, which my lord took up and sent away.

The Tuesday following, athwart of Portland, we had a sharp and long fight with them, wherein we spent a great part of our powder and shot, so as it was not thought good to deal with them any more till that was relieved.

The Thursday following, by the occasion of the scattering of one of the great ships from the fleet, which we hoped to have cut off, there grew a hot fray, wherein some store of powder was spent; and after that little done till we came near to Calais, where the fleet of Spain anchored, and our fleet by them; and because they should not be in peace there, to refresh their water or to have conference with that of the Duke of Parma's party, my lord admiral, with firing of ships, determined to renew them; as he did, and put them to the seas; in which broil the chief galleass spoiled her rudder, and so rode ashore near the town of Calais, where she was possessed of our men, but so aground as she could not be brought away.

That morning, being Monday, the 29th of July, we followed the Spaniards; and all that day had with them a long and great fight, wherein there was great valour showed generally of our company. In this battle there was spent very much of our powder and shot; and so the wind began to blow westerly, a fresh gale, and the Spaniards put themselves somewhat the northward, where we follow and keep company with them. In this fight there was some hurt done among the Spaniards. A great ship of the galleons of Portugal, her rudder spoiled, and so the fleet left her in the sea. I doubt not but all these things are written more at large to your lordship than I can do; but this is the substance and material matter that hath passed.

Our ships, God be thanked, have received little hurt, and are of great force to accompany them, and of such advantage that with some continuance at the seas, and sufficiently provided of shot and powder, we shall be able, with God's favour, to weary them out of the sea and confound them. Yet, as I gather certainly, there are amongst them 50 forcible and invincible ships which consist of those that follow, viz.:

Nine galleons of Portugal of 800 ton apiece, saving two of them are but 400 ton apiece.

Twenty great Venetians and argosies of the seas within the Strait, of 800 apiece.

One ship of the Duke of Florence of 800 ton.

Twenty great Biscayans of 500 or 600 ton.

Four galleasses, whereof one is in France.

There are 30 hulks, and 30 other small ships, whereof little account is to be made. . . .

At their departing from Lisbon, the soldiers were 20,000, the mariners and others 8000; so as in all they were 28,000 men. Their commission was to confer with the Prince of Parma, as I learn, and then to proceed to the service that should be there concluded; and so the duke to return into Spain with these ships and mariners, the soldiers and their furniture being left behind. Now the fleet is here, and very forcible, and must be waited upon with all our force, which is little enough. There should be an infinite quantity of powder and shot provided, and continually sent abroad; without the which great hazard may grow to our country; for this is the greatest and strongest combination to my understanding, that ever was gathered in Christendom; therefore I wish it, of all hands, to be mightily and diligently looked unto and cared for.

. . . And so praying to God for a happy deliverance from the malicious and dangerous practice of our enemies, I humbly take my leave. From the sea, aboard the *Victory*, the last of July 1588.

The Spaniards take their course for Scotland; my lord doth follow them. I doubt not, with God's favour, but we shall impeach their landing. There must be order for victual and money, powder and shot, to be sent after us.

Your lordship's humbly to command,

JOHN HAWKYNS.

183. A SPANISH ACCOUNT OF THE DEFEAT.

1588. "Calendar of Venetian Papers," viii. 394.

Our fleet left Calais through fear of the enemy's fire ships and made for the open sea in the endeavour to avoid the mouth of the channel. God wished to punish us for our

sins, and more to that than to aught else must be attributed the fact that the wind was in our teeth, and kept blowing up so strongly that, all against our will, we were forced into the channel with the enemy always to windward of us.

On Monday morning the enemy, having reconnoitred our fleet, drew out with his own and began to chase thirty of our ships along the coast by Calais, keeping along the shore and trying to drive them away from it. The rest of their fleet, in order of battle, bore down on us, and began a furious infernal cannonade. The battle lasted about nine hours, in my judgment. This ship and the *St. Matheo* have been so badly damaged that of the few survivors some were transhipped with the adjutants Don Francesco di Toledo and Don Diego Pimentel. The *St. Matheo* is held for lost.

Another ship, a Biscayan, called the *Maria Juan*, went to the bottom. Her captain, Castion, was saved along with a Navarese gentleman, called Don Gaspro d'Espoletta, all burned about the face, as a page of his told me. . . .

The enemy's fleet numbered upwards of one hundred and thirty sail. The flag-ship of the galleasses, which made for Calais, was attacked and cannonaded; we do not know if she was captured; for my part I think so, and we saw that the castle of Calais fired its guns and tried to shelter the galleass.

Don Felipe di Cordova perished; may God pardon him; so too Don Pedro di Mendoza and other gentlemen, soldiers, gunners, mariners in great numbers, all from the district of Carrion; others went to the bottom. It was a disgusting spectacle which we have seen these last few days. . . .

On Wednesday, the 8th August, in the morning the enemy came out against us so vigorously and so arrogantly, that our leader had some apprehensions, but the grace of God miraculously favoured us. On this day the enemy won the advantage owing to the disorder in which we sailed, the bad weather, and the fear of the last action, in which the duke, with four other ships, while leading the fleet, was so hard pressed that we thought our destruction had come. Fortune was not content with giving us a single foe, she brought out the Flanders galleys as well. The enemy then turned off, took the windward of us, and continued his course in perfect

order, and never letting our rear-guard out of sight, but keeping just out of cannon shot; and thus he followed us for all Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

On that day at nightfall, the enemy forced us back, and on Saturday morning he drew up in order of battle, and came down upon us, but keeping just out of range; and as we stood waiting the onset the enemy made a tack, stood out to open sea, and gradually drew away from us so that by sundown he was out of sight.

Our route outside Scotland is long; pray God we come safe home. It is the historian's business to comment on events. I reserve all remarks till I arrive at court, where there will be much to say. For myself I can only add that I am very hungry and thirsty, for no one has more than half a pint of wine and a whole one of water each day; and the water you cannot drink, for it smells worse than musk. It is more than ten days since I drank any. The voyage is not so short but that there remain to us four hundred leagues of road. They say we are to go straight to Corunna, and the troops are to be lodged in Galicia.

The Gulf of Scalloway, 20th August, 1588; in 60 degrees of high latitude.

184. PHILIP II. TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS DOMINIONS.

1588. Quoted by Froude, "Spanish Story of the Armada."

MOST REVEREND,—The uncertainties of naval enterprise are well known, and the fate which has befallen the Armada is an instance in point. You will have already heard that the Duke of Medina-Sidonia has returned to Santander, bringing back with him part of the fleet. Others of the ships have reached various ports, some of them having suffered severely from their long and arduous voyage. We are bound to give praise to God for all things which He is pleased to do. I on the present occasion have given thanks to Him for the mercy which He has shown. In the foul weather and violent storms to which the Armada has been exposed, it might have experienced a worse fate; and that the misfortune has not been heavier is no doubt due to the prayers which have been offered in its behalf so devoutly and continuously.

185. A Speech of Elizabeth upon Threatened Invasion.

1593. Somers' "Collection of Historical Tracts," i. 463.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

This kingdom hath had many wise, noble and victorious princes; I will not compare with any of them in wisdom, fortitude or any other virtues; but saving the duty of a child that is not to compare with his father in love, care, sincerity and justice, I will compare with any prince that ever you had or shall have.

It may be thought simplicity in me, that, all this time of my reign, I have not sought to advance my territories, and enlarge my dominions; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect; but though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the things so obtained; and I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just princess.

Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of all these wars: in which he doth me the greatest wrong that can be, for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts, wherein I have done him the least injury; but I am persuaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the wrong that he hath done me.

I fear not all his threatenings; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me; for though he come against me with a greater power than ever was his invincible navy, I doubt not—God assisting me, upon whom I always trust—but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great advantage against him, for my cause is just.

I heard say, when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, and flew up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance; but I swear unto you, if I knew those persons, or any that should do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause.

The subsidies you give me, I accept thankfully, if you give me your good will with them; but if the necessity of the

times and your preservations did not require it, I would refuse them ; but let me tell you that the sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a princess to have so much always lying in her coffers for your defence in time of need, and not to be given to get it, when we should use it.

You that be lieutenants and gentlemen of command in your countries, I require you to take care that the people be well armed, and in readiness upon all occasions. You that be judges and justices of the peace, I command and straightly charge you, that you see the laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living laws, when we have put life into them.

186. The Poor Law.

1598. "Statutes of the Realm," iv. pt. ii.

I. Be it enacted, That the churchwardens of every parish and four substantial householders there being subsidy men, or (for want of subsidy men) four other substantial householders of the said parish, who shall be nominated yearly in Easter week under the hand and seal of two or more justices of the peace in the same county . . . shall be called overseers of the same parish ; and they . . . shall take order from time to time with the consent of two or more such justices of peace for setting to work of the children of all such whose parents shall not by the said persons be thought able to keep and maintain their children, and also all such persons, married or unmarried, as, having no means to maintain them use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by, and also to raise . . . by taxation of every inhabitant and every occupier of lands in the said parish . . . a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other stuff to set the poor on work, and also competent sums of money for the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind and such other among them being poor and not able to work, and also for the putting out of such children to be apprentices . . . and to do all other things . . . concerning the premises as to them shall seem convenient ; which said churchwardens and overseers so to be nominated . . . shall meet together at the least once every month in the church of the said parish, upon

the Sunday in the afternoon after divine service, there to consider of some good course to be taken . . . in the premises . . .

II. And be it also enacted, That if the said justices of peace do perceive that the inhabitants of any parish are not able to levy among themselves sufficient sums of money for the purposes aforesaid, that then the said justices shall tax . . . any other of other parishes . . . within the hundred where the said parish is, to pay such sums of money . . . as the said justices shall think fit, according to the intent of this law; and if the said hundred shall not be thought to the said justices able to relieve the said several parishes . . . then the justices of peace at their several quarter sessions shall rate and assess as aforesaid any other of other parishes . . . within the said county for the purposes aforesaid as in their discretion shall seem fit.

III. [Sale of goods and imprisonment of those who refuse to pay tax; house of correction for "such as shall not employ themselves to work, being appointed thereto as aforesaid."]

IV. [Overseers able to bind such children in apprenticeship.]

V. And to the intent that necessary places of habitation may more conveniently be provided for such poor impotent people . . . it shall be lawful for the said churchwardens and overseers by the leave of the lord or lords of the manor whereof any waste or common within their parish is parcel . . . to erect in fit and convenient places of habitation in such waste or common, at the general charges of the parish or otherwise of the hundred or county as aforesaid . . . convenient houses of dwelling for the said impotent poor. . . .

VII. And be it further enacted, That the parents or children of every poor . . . and impotent person . . . being of sufficient ability, shall at their own charges relieve and maintain every such poor person in that manner and according to that rate as by the justices of peace . . . shall be assessed; upon pain that every one of them to forfeit 20s. for every month which they shall fail therein.

X. And be it further enacted, That . . . no person shall go wandering abroad and beg in any place whatsoever, by

licence or without, upon pain to be taken and punished as a rogue, provided always that this present Act shall not extend to any poor people which shall ask relief of victuals only in the same parish where such poor people do dwell, so the same be . . . according to such order as shall be made by the church-wardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish.

[This Act, containing in all seventeen clauses, is amended and confirmed by the famous Act of 1601.]

187. Monopolies.

1601. "Townsend's Journals," pp. 230–249. (Quoted by Prothero, "Sel. Stat.," p. 111.)

(*a*) *Debate in Parliament.*

Mr. Francis Bacon said : . . . I confess the bill, as it is, is in few words, but yet ponderous and weighty. For the prerogative royal of the prince, for my own part I ever allowed of it, and it is such as I hope shall never be discussed. The queen, as she is our sovereign, hath both an enlarging and restraining liberty of her prerogative ; that is, she hath power by her patents to set at liberty things restrained by statute law or otherwise ; and by her prerogative she may restrain things that are at liberty. . . . I say, and I say again, that we ought not to deal or meddle with or judge of her majesty's prerogative. . . .

Dr. Bennet. He that will go about to debate her majesty's prerogative royal, must walk warily. In respect of a grievance out of that city for which I serve, I think myself bound to speak that now which I had not intended to speak before ; I mean a monopoly of salt. It is an old proverb, "Sal sapit omnia" ; fire and water are not more necessary. But for other monopolies of cards (at which word Sir Walter Raleigh blushed), dice, starch, etc., they are, because monopolies, I must confess, very hateful, though not so hurtful. I know there is a great difference in them ; and I think, if the abuse in this monopoly of salt were particularised, this would walk in the front rank. . . .

Mr. Francis Moore. Mr. Speaker, I know the queen's prerogative is a thing curious to be dealt withal, yet all grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my

tongue or conceive with my heart the great grievances that the town and country, for which I serve, suffer by some of these monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all is beggary and bondage to the subjects. We have a law for the true and faithful currying of leather; there is a patent that sets all at liberty, notwithstanding that statute. And to what purpose is it to do anything by act of parliament, when the queen will undo the same by her prerogative? Out of the spirit of humility, Mr. Speaker, I do speak it; there is no act of hers that hath been or is more derogatory to her own majesty, or more odious to the subject, or more dangerous to the commonwealth than the granting of these monopolies.

Mr. Secretary Cecil. If there had not been some mistaking or confusion in the committee, I would not now have spoken. The question was, of the most convenient way to reform these grievances of monopolies; but after disputation of that labour, we have not received the expected fruit. . . . This dispute draws two great things in question; first, the prince's power; secondly, the freedom of Englishmen. I am born an Englishman, and a fellow-member of this House; I would desire to live no day, in which I should detract from either. I am a servant to the queen; and before I would speak or give my consent to a case that should debase her prerogative or abridge it, I would wish my tongue cut out of my head. . . . For my own part, I like not these courses should be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, should perform the charge her majesty gave unto you at the beginning of this parliament not to receive bills of this nature; for her majesty's ears be open to all grievances, and her hand stretched out to every man's petition. For the matter of access I like it well, so it be first moved and the way prepared. I had rather all the patents were burnt than her majesty should lose the hearts of so many subjects as is pretended she will.

(*b*) *The Queen's Message to the Commons through the Speaker.*

It pleased her majesty to command me to attend upon her yesterday in the afternoon, from which I am to deliver unto

you all her majesty's most gracious message, sent by my unworthy self. . . . It pleased her majesty to say unto me, That if she had an hundred tongues she could not express our hearty good-wills. And further she said, That as she had ever held our good most dear, so the last day of our or her life should witness it ; and that if the least of her subjects were grieved, and herself not touched, she appealed to the throne of Almighty God how careful she hath been, and will be, to defend her people from all oppressions. She said, That partly by intimation of her council, and partly by divers petitions that have been delivered unto her both going to chapel and also walking abroad, she understood that divers patents that she had granted, were grievous to her subjects ; and that the substitutes of the patentees had used great oppression. But, she said, she never assented to grant anything which was *malum in se*. And if in the abuse of her grant there be anything evil, which she took knowledge there was, she herself would take present order of reformation thereof. I cannot express unto you the apparent indignation of her majesty towards these abuses. She said her kingly prerogative was tender ; and therefore desireth us not to speak or doubt of her careful reformation ; for she said, her commandment given a little before the late troubles (meaning the Earl of Essex's matters) by the unfortunate event of them was not so hindered, but that since that time, even in the midst of her most great and weighty occasions, she thought upon them. And that this should not suffice, but that further order should be taken presently, and not *in futuro* (for that also was another word which I take it her majesty used), and that some should be presently repealed, some suspended, and none put in execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law for the good of the people. Against the abuses her wrath was so incensed, that she said that she neither could nor would suffer such to escape with impunity. So to my unspeakable comfort she hath made me the messenger of this her gracious thankfulness and care.

PART II

1603 TO THE PRESENT DAY

CHAPTER XV

STRUGGLE BETWEEN CROWN AND PARLIAMENT (1603–1649)

JAMES I

1603. Hampton Court Conference.
1605. Gunpowder Plot.
1618. Execution of Raleigh.

Rule by Divine Right.—James VI. of Scotland succeeded Elizabeth without opposition, but in the first year of his reign two plots, called the "Main" and the "Bye," from their relative importance, were formed against him. The former was said to have for its object the deposition of the king in favour of his cousin, Arabella Stuart, and the latter was the outcome of the disappointed hopes of a few Catholics and others who meant to secure toleration by the old Scottish practice of capturing the king. Both plots failed, and to us their chief importance lies in the fact that Sir Walter Raleigh, the leader of the anti-Spanish or war party, was imprisoned for his alleged complicity.

James had been brought up amid religious controversy, and had himself become a skilled controversialist. His experience of the outspoken ministers of

the Scottish Kirk had not enamoured him of Presbyterianism, for he regarded it as incompatible with his views on the duties and privileges of kingship. These views were perfectly clear: the king was the divinely appointed ruler of his people, and consequently the duty of the people was the most absolute obedience to his will; on the other hand, a good king would make the interests of his subjects his first care.

In that age Church government and civil government were interdependent; it was not long before their close connection was publicly proved. The Puritans, who hoped for the best from James's education among Presbyterians, succeeded in securing a conference at Hampton Court between their leaders and the bishops, in order to gain some concessions on points of ceremonial in the Church services. James, who presided, soon saw that these details were only part of the larger question of Church government. "It is my aphorism," he said, "No bishop, no king." When one of the Puritans used the word *presbyter*, he exclaimed: "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil." No compromise was arrived at, but the conference is famous for the translation of the Bible known as the Authorised Version (published 1610).

Gunpowder Plot.—The purpose of a Parliament in the eyes of James was to provide revenue; he flattered himself that he was merely imitating the model set by the Tudors, without reflecting that they had based their control of Parliament upon a sure instinct for interpreting the popular will. It was not surprising, therefore, that James quarrelled with all his Parliaments, or that Parliament was always more ready to discuss its

grievances than to vote supply. Parliament desired severer measures against the Catholics and war with Spain; the king remitted fines in the one case, and made peace in the other. It was the shifting policy of the government towards the Catholics which brought about the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Robert Catesby, a Warwickshire squire, headed a conspiracy to blow up the Houses of Parliament by gunpowder at the state opening of the new session by the king; in the resulting confusion the government was to be seized by the successful conspirators and their friends. But one of their number, Francis Tresham, sent a warning to his kinsman, Lord Mounteagle, and the whole plot was discovered. The conspirators were hunted down, and the chief outcome was still severer treatment of the Catholics.

The Limits of Union.—The king was anxious that England and Scotland should be really united, instead of being two independent kingdoms to whom chance had given the same king. The wisdom of such a course is plain, but Englishmen were irritated by the favour shown to Scotsmen at court; and although the English Parliament consented to appoint commissioners to make an inquiry into the matter, its immediate result was a statement as to its own privileges. Thwarted by Parliament, James had recourse to the judges, and obtained from them a ruling that Scots born subsequent to 1603 were entitled to all the privileges of English subjects.

Accustomed to the poverty of the Scottish Crown, James thought the wealth of England inexhaustible; his court was now one of the most extravagant in Europe, and it was not long before his expenditure

was hopelessly in excess of his income. The Earl of Salisbury, Burleigh's son and successor, tried to introduce economies, and succeeded in reducing the king's debt considerably; but in order to put the royal treasury on a sound basis he wanted Parliament to commute the old military or feudal dues for a fixed sum. This arrangement, known as the Great Contract, was, however, rejected by Parliament, and a valuable reform was thus postponed.

Foreign Policy.—The king was especially proud of his skill in foreign affairs. At the beginning of his reign he had made peace with Spain, and his one idea was that he was marked out as the mediator between the Protestant and Catholic Powers of Europe. By the peace with Spain, by friendly relations with France, and by marrying his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick, the Protestant Elector of the Palatinate, he did indeed seem to be preserving the balance of power. If he could gain a real influence over Spain, whose decay he evidently did not recognise, he thought that his position as European mediator would be assured. This influence he tried to gain by a marriage between his eldest son and the Spanish Infanta. The Spanish court pretended to entertain the proposal, with a view to gaining concessions for the English Catholics, but their terms were too high to please the English people.

Execution of Raleigh.—It was chiefly to break off the Spanish friendship that the anti-Spanish party at court obtained Raleigh's release from prison in order to send him to Guiana in search of a gold-mine which he claimed to have discovered in 1595. James was willing enough to have a share in the treasure; but when the Spanish ambassador protested, he not only

assured him that Raleigh should pay with his life for any injury done to the Spanish settlements in the New World, but actually revealed the situation of the mine. Under these circumstances Raleigh's expedition naturally proved unsuccessful, and the king, to gratify Spain, had him executed on the old charge of treason (1618).

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.—In the same year the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War placed James in a curious position. On the ground that their throne was elective, the Bohemians had chosen his son-in-law Frederick as their king, thus repudiating Ferdinand, who was not only the heir of their late king, the Emperor Matthias, but also his successor in the Empire and the champion of the Catholic Powers. The Catholics, largely owing to the zeal which the new order of Jesuits had thrown into the counter-Reformation, had rallied their forces and were prepared to fight for supremacy in Central Europe. James now found himself, as the leading Protestant king, beset by appeals from Frederick at the same time as he was trying to marry his son to the Spanish Infanta, whose house was closely allied with Ferdinand's. When Frederick was driven out of Bohemia and in danger of losing even his ancestral possessions, James still clung to the Spanish alliance in the delusive hope that Spain would mediate with the Emperor on behalf of his son-in-law.

England was at the moment eager enough for a war with Spain, but was unwilling to make any great sacrifices for the Protestant cause in Central Europe; and this was shown when, after granting the king a sum far too small to be effective in the affair of the Palatinate.

the new Parliament of 1621 decided to protest against monopolies at home, to vindicate its own privileges, and, above all, to impeach Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, Lord High Chancellor.

Parliament and Officers of State.—Bacon was the son of Elizabeth's Lord Keeper and the nephew of Lord Burghley, but had received the reward of his great abilities only after the Earl of Salisbury's death in 1612. By making himself useful to the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham, he became Lord Keeper in 1617, and in the following year Lord Chancellor. James's third Parliament (1621), as we have seen, impeached him, and he was found guilty of taking bribes. Bacon did not attempt to defend himself, although he declared, and apparently with truth, that he was "the justest judge in England these fifty years," but he also declared that his disgrace was "the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years." This would seem to be the vindication of the Commons in thus putting a stop to more or less recognised abuses in the administration of the law, and it is no defence of Bacon to say that he was merely following a bad example and that his judgments were unaffected by the presents he received. He was fined, dismissed from office and court, and imprisoned; he was released, however, after a few days, and lived in retirement till his death in 1626.

The Duke of Buckingham.—James had always been under the control of favourites. Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, had been succeeded (in 1615) by George Villiers, who was soon made Marquis of Buckingham. After wavering for some time between a Protestant and a Catholic foreign policy, he at last supported the

latter—he himself had lately married a Catholic—and in 1623 persuaded the king to allow him to accompany Prince Charles to Spain, partly in furtherance of the Spanish match and partly to arrange terms between Philip IV.'s imperial allies and the Elector Palatine. Unsuccessful on both points, on his return home he clamoured for war with Spain, and consequently became very popular. The marriage proposals were broken off, and Parliament gave a delighted approval to a war with Spain; it was, however, keenly disappointed to find that the king's aim was not to fight Spain, but to protect Frederick. In the end troops were provided for a disastrous expedition under Count Mansfeld, a soldier of fortune, who got no farther than the Dutch frontier. The alliance of Buckingham and Charles with the Commons was chiefly useful in securing the final abolition of monopolies—save for a few established in the next reign—to the great advantage of commerce and industry.

There are two other noteworthy events in James's reign still to be recorded—the colonisation of Ulster and the founding of New England.

Colonisation of Ulster.—When Lord Mountjoy was recalled from Ireland he was succeeded by Sir Arthur Chichester (1604), who tried to strengthen the English government without driving the native Irish to rebellion. To carry out his purpose of raising Irish civilisation to a level with English, he decided to settle English and Scottish colonists on forfeited abbey lands in Ulster; but when in consequence of this the great Irish chiefs, O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel, with four other great landowners, imagined, rightly or wrongly, that they were in danger from the

government and fled from Ireland, six counties fell to the Crown, and a settlement on a much larger scale was carried out. Unfortunately Chichester's advice to leave the Irish cultivators in peaceful possession of their lands was disregarded, and thus one more bitter quarrel was added to the feuds between England and Ireland, which resulted in the rebellion and massacre of the next reign.

Virginia.—About the same time companies were being formed to colonise Virginia. Of these the London Company was the most successful, largely owing to the character of one of their number, Captain John Smith. Lord Delaware was appointed governor, and proved excellently fitted for his task, for, although on his arrival he found the settlers in such hopeless difficulties and despair, owing to Smith's departure, that they were on the point of abandoning the settlement altogether, he established the colony so firmly that by 1622 it numbered 4000 souls.

The Pilgrim Fathers.—It was in 1620 that another famous settlement was made in North America. Early in James's reign some Puritans who preferred to leave England altogether rather than remain in the Established Church fled, not without difficulty, to the Continent. First at Amsterdam and then at Leyden they found a home, but, desiring to form a community for themselves and their fellows, they decided to emigrate to the New World. After obtaining the patent of the Virginia Company they returned to England, and in 1620 sailed away from Southampton in the *Mayflower*, a little company of 120 souls. It was not till just before Christmas that the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the shores of Plymouth Bay, and then they

suffered terribly from the rigorous winter. But owing to the wise leadership of William Bradford they overcame all their difficulties, and within a very few years were a flourishing community.

CHARLES I

1624. Accession of Charles.
1628. The Petition of Right.
1639. Scottish National Covenant.
1641. Execution of Strafford.
The Grand Remonstrance.
1642. Outbreak of Civil War.
1644. Marston Moor.
1645. Naseby.
1648. Preston.
1648. Pride's Purge.
1649. Execution of Charles I.

War with Spain.—Charles I. had all his father's belief in the divine right of kingship, with even less than his father's common sense. In a private station he would have been an admirable man, sincere, cultured and pious; as a king the strength of his convictions, so absolutely at variance with those of his subjects, was likely to prove his ruin.

He began his reign by continuing the war policy which had made him popular in his father's lifetime; but the war in the Palatinate had brought neither honour nor profit to England, and Parliament was indisposed to support it. By granting tunnage and poundage (a tax of three shillings on every tun of wine and five per cent. on all other imports) for one year only, Parliament was able to put an effectual stop to the war. But Charles, resenting what was practically a vote of no confidence, seeing that hitherto tunnage and poundage had been voted to the sovereign for life, promptly dissolved Parliament, and levied forced loans for an expedition to Cadiz which turned out disastrously (1625).

The king's marriage with Henrietta Maria of France created new difficulties for him. He was now allied to a Catholic Power engaged in suppressing its own Protestant subjects—the Huguenots at La Rochelle —and was expected to help it in this task at the very time when he was promising his own Parliament to carry out strict penal laws against Catholics at home, and when he was sending money he could ill afford to support a Protestant prince in Germany.

The unsatisfactory conduct of the expedition against Spain led the second Parliament of the reign (1626) to try to establish the responsibility of the king's advisers by impeaching Buckingham; and although Charles was able to save his friend by a dissolution, he had to go without supplies, and that at a time when he was undertaking a war against France. This war arose really from the desire of a powerful section of the French nobility for an alliance with Spain against Protestants generally and the Huguenots in particular; but the immediate occasion of hostilities was the capture of French shipping by the English and the subsequent seizure by the French of the English wine fleet sailing from Bordeaux. The king, deprived of Parliamentary supplies, had recourse to forced loans, and sent Buckingham to the Isle of Rhé to help the Huguenots. The expedition ended as disastrously as the previous one to Cadiz. The only satisfaction Charles had was that the judges, who at that time held office during the king's pleasure, agreed that he might imprison any of his subjects who refused to pay forced loans.

Petition of Right.—Charles's third Parliament (1628) is famous for the *Petition of Right*, which laid down that

taxation except by Act of Parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, the billeting of soldiers on private individuals, and martial law in time of peace were each and all illegal. The king hesitated long before accepting these enactments, but at length gave way. The Commons showed their gratification by voting liberal supplies. Their satisfaction did not last long, for in the very next year the king was again raising revenue by seizing merchandise. Charles thought to stifle protests by ordering the Speaker of the Commons to declare Parliament adjourned; but the Speaker was held forcibly in the chair while the protest was carried. The king, in spite of the Petition of Right, now ordered the arrest of Sir John Eliot and other members of the House for their action in Parliament, and once more the judges yielded to his will (1629). Eleven years passed before Charles called another Parliament.

Arbitrary Rule.—In this period of personal rule Charles had two chief advisers. Buckingham had been assassinated in 1628, and now his place was taken by Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford, and William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth had at first been one of the leaders of the opposition in Parliament, and he had actually been removed from the commission of the peace when Charles ordered the justices to raise forced loans (1626). It is possible that his desertion of the popular cause was partly due to his own private ambition, but it is also probable that his imperious temper led him to think that the best form of government for England was a wise and enlightened despotism, through which a sincere king would consult his people's real happiness. In

any case he was never sympathetic to Puritanism. One or all of these reasons explain why he suddenly accepted office and service under the king as President of the Council of the North (1628). He threw himself heartily into his new work at York and broke down all resistance to his rule even more arbitrarily than the king did at Whitehall.

William Laud's importance lies in the fact that in his opposition to Puritanism he stood for a sentiment which was as decisive in bringing about the Civil War as the political grievances which now seem so much more important. Many men afterwards joined the king rather because they regarded him as the champion of the State Church than because they approved of his theories or practice of government. In politics other than ecclesiastical Laud had certainly much the same opinions as Wentworth, but it was his misfortune that in that age it seemed impossible to separate religion from purely secular affairs. His great object in life was to maintain the distinct character and teaching of the Church of England, and to do this he relied, as all his contemporaries relied, upon the power of the State; as the king earnestly shared his religious views, he interpreted the power of the State as the power of the Crown.

In 1632 Wentworth was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy. Here he set himself to realise his ideal of government, to which he gave the name "Thorough"; but if he ruled with a high hand in order to make the king absolutely independent by means of a strong army, and did his best to strengthen the English colony by arbitrary confiscations in Connaught, yet by carrying out many reforms and especially by

protecting trade and home industries, he succeeded in giving Ireland a better form of government than she had ever had before.

Ship-money.—Meanwhile the king was anxious to interfere in foreign affairs. It seemed likely in 1634 that the Dutch and the French would divide the Spanish Netherlands between them—a prospect which England could hardly view with satisfaction. In his desperate need for money Charles decided to levy ship-money, a tax formerly raised in war-time from the maritime counties. But England was at peace; and in 1635 the tax was extended to the whole kingdom. General indignation caused Charles to obtain a somewhat vague pronouncement from the judges that when the kingdom was in danger, a question of which the king was the only judge, the whole kingdom must bear the burden. When once more ship-money was demanded, John Hampden and Lord Saye refused to pay, and the judges by a small majority decided against them (1637).

But, as we have said, at that time religion had an equal share with politics in the problems of government. In England the Puritans protested by numerous pamphlets against what they regarded as innovations or irregularities. William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, was condemned by the Star Chamber in 1637 to pay a heavy fine and to have his ears cut off for publishing a treatise called "*Histriomastix*: A Scourge of Stage Players"; and many other such punishments were inflicted. But the real opposition to Laud's policy of establishing a uniform Church, carried out in England by such courts as Star Chamber and High Commission, came from Scotland.

Scotland and Episcopacy.—James I. had tried to thrust Episcopacy upon the Scots, and had actually succeeded in bringing the General Assembly—the Presbyterian Council of Church Government—to recognise the bishops he created. But Scotland remained Presbyterian at heart, and the bishops were entirely without influence. Such a position would not satisfy Charles and Laud, who determined to force a Service Book which was practically the English Prayer Book upon the Scots, with the result that a large part of the Scottish nation bound itself by a National Covenant to maintain Presbyterianism (1638). The king still persisted, and the Scots took up arms; but it was clear that Charles, without money and without Parliamentary support, could do nothing. He therefore was obliged to agree to the Treaty of Berwick (1639), which closed this so-called First Bishops' War by referring all matters in dispute to the Scottish General Assembly and Parliament.

But when these authorities promptly abolished Episcopacy in Scotland, Charles, on the advice of Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, thought of calling an English Parliament to help him against the obstinate Scots. This "Short" Parliament (1640), however, preferred to discuss English grievances, and was soon dissolved. The king, though disappointed in Parliament, was still intent on punishing the Scots, and by impressing recruits got together an army of sorts which marched north under Strafford and himself. The Scots did not wait to be attacked; under Alexander Leslie, who, like many of his countrymen, had seen service with Gustavus Adolphus, they invaded England. Charles again found himself unable to offer resistance, and the

Second Bishops' War was ended by a Scottish victory at Newburn and the consequent Pacification of Ripon, by which it was agreed that the Scottish army should remain in England, at English charges, till a new Parliament should meet (1640).

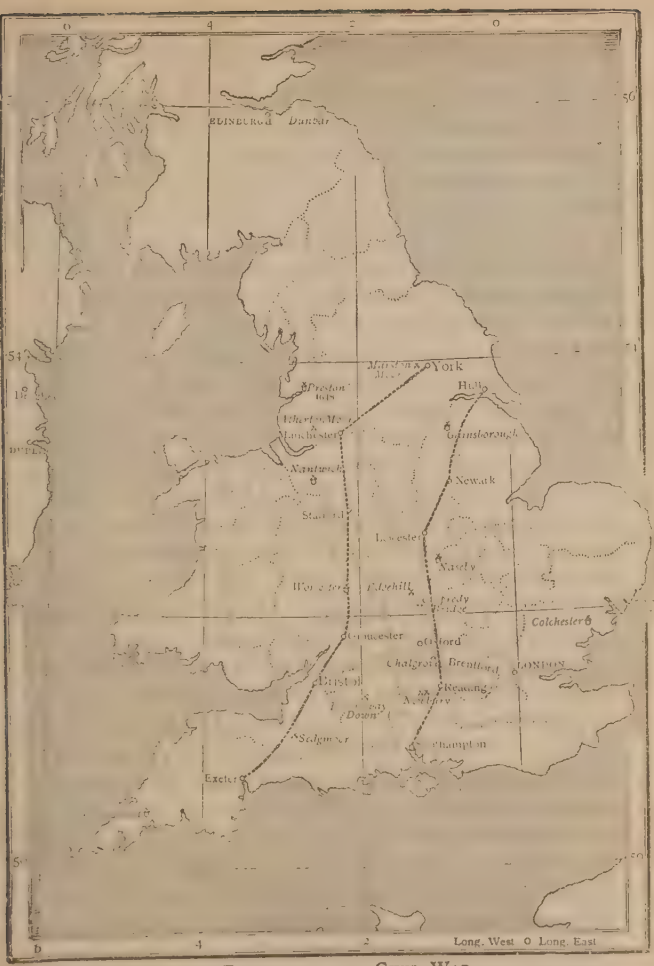
The Long Parliament.—This new Parliament, called the "Long" Parliament to distinguish it from its predecessor, considered the Scots rather as friends than enemies, and turned its attention to reforms in England. Its first business was to overthrow the king's ministers and to restrain the king himself from tyranny. Arbitrary courts such as Star Chamber, High Commission, and the Council of the North were abolished, and a Triennial Act was passed by which Parliament was to be held at least once in every three years. That the king consented to these measures was because he could not help himself; he was entirely without resources. He was even brought to consent to the execution of Strafford and the impeachment of Laud. By an impeachment the Commons present a man to the Lords on the charge of treason; but as the Lords could hardly convict Strafford of treason for carrying out the king's orders, the Commons secured their end by passing an Act of Attainder against him, or, in other words, declaring him a traitor. The evidence on which they chiefly relied was his alleged offer to bring over Irish troops to reduce *this kingdom*. As the offer was made during the Bishops' War, it is possible that *this kingdom* referred, not to England, but to Scotland. But the Commons had resolved on his death, and Charles reluctantly gave his consent.

Ireland.—A rebellion in Ireland brought the differences between the king and Parliament to a head.

Many years of misgovernment and oppression had had their natural result; as soon as the Irish saw England engaged with real difficulties of her own, they rose and took a long-deferred vengeance on the hated foreigner (1641). Parliament, seeing in the rebellion the workings of Romanism and the destruction of Protestantism, took upon itself the immediate conquest of Ireland, while at the same time it drew up a Grand Remonstrance, setting forth details of the king's misgovernment, the reforms adopted by Parliament, the difficulties in the way, and the further reforms necessary. The Remonstrance, which was passed only by a small majority, made civil war inevitable. But although moderate men thought that the Remonstrance went too far, Charles soon alienated their support by coming down to the Commons with an armed escort to demand the surrender of five members whom he accused of treason. The five members (Pym, Hampden, Haselrig, Strode, and Hollis) took refuge in the city, and the city authorities refused to give them up.

Matters were now so serious that the king withdrew to York and began to levy troops. There Parliament laid before him a set of Nineteen Propositions, demanding among other things that officers of state should be approved by Parliament, that Church government should be reformed as the Houses should advise, and that the laws against Catholics should be enforced.

Civil War.—Such demands the king was not likely to grant. On the contrary, he raised his standard at Nottingham, and the Civil War began. On the Parliamentary side an army was raised at once, and the command given to the Earl of Essex. The first battle, at Edgehill (1642), was indecisive, but Charles



ENGLAND IN THE CIVIL WAR

If a line be drawn from Hull, through Newark, Leicester, Reading, and Southampton, the country south and east may be counted as mainly on the side of Parliament; while the land north and west of a line drawn through York, Manchester, Stafford, Gloucester, and Bristol to Exeter, was for the king: between these two lines was the chief fighting-ground

pushed on towards London; checked, however, at Brentford, he had to fall back on Oxford, which for some time remained his headquarters.

The opposing parties in the Civil War were not divided by any very distinctive differences in social position, except so far as Puritanism was the religion of the middle class and of the towns. The majority of the peers certainly fought for the king, but the Parliament was supported by large numbers of the gentry and yeomen. But there was a marked geographical division: the North and West, where the power of the nobility was strongest, were mainly Royalist, while the South and East, where the trade of the country at that time chiefly flourished, were Parliamentarian. Even this geographical division, however, must not be pressed too strictly, for the cloth towns of the West Riding and of Somerset were as devoted to the Parliament as Portsmouth or London.

In 1643 four campaigns were fought, which, on the whole, were favourable to the Royalists. The skirmishes of the main forces between London and Oxford are chiefly memorable for Hampden's defeat and death at Chalgrove Field. In Yorkshire the Royalists, or "Cavaliers," won a battle at Adwalton, between Bradford and Leeds. In the West, not only were the Parliamentarians, or "Roundheads," defeated at Roundway Down, but Prince Rupert, the king's nephew, sacked Bristol and besieged Gloucester. It was only in the East that Parliament had any real success; here Oliver Cromwell, who had organised the army of the Association of the Eastern Counties, won the victories of Gainsborough and Winceby.

Much as many supporters of the Parliament disliked

Presbyterianism, this want of success drove them to get help from Scotland by accepting the Solemn League and Covenant, which aimed chiefly at securing greater uniformity in Church government in the two countries.

The next year was not much more decisive, for although the Irish were defeated at Nantwich by Fairfax, the Roundheads were defeated by Charles at Cropredy Bridge; and the great victory of the English and Scots at Marston Moor was balanced by the surrender of Essex's army at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall. But Marston Moor was important in itself, because it first showed on a large scale that the Parliament had at last organised a disciplined army, and especially a disciplined cavalry, which could more than hold its own against the enthusiasm of the Cavaliers. The second battle of Newbury was indecisive, and brought the year's fighting to an end.

Oliver Cromwell.—Both sides were exhausted, and negotiations for a truce were begun. But when they fell through, the Parliament, conscious that dissensions among its leaders had interfered with success in the field, seriously considered the state of the army. The leader in this movement was Oliver Cromwell, to whose energy and skill the victory of Marston Moor was chiefly due. He now proposed a Self-denying Ordinance, by which members of either House of Parliament were removed from military command — a dangerous expedient in the middle of a war, but not so dangerous as incapable or half-hearted leaders. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made commander-in-chief, and soon afterwards Parliament gave special permission to Cromwell to act as his lieutenant-general. Between them they reorganised the army and produced what

they called the New Model, with a success soon strikingly proved by the Battle of Naseby, where Charles was utterly defeated (1645).

Charles's only hope, now that he was without an army and that his baggage and even his private papers had fallen into the enemy's hands, was to escape to Scotland, where Montrose, by his six victories over the Covenanters, was supreme. But he was foiled every time he tried to break through, and it was not long before Montrose himself, unable to keep his Highlanders together, was irretrievably beaten by Leslie at Philiphaugh (1645).

Meanwhile Rupert had surrendered Bristol, and Cromwell had taken Winchester. When negotiations with Ireland, discovered by accident, proved that Charles was ready to re-establish Catholicism there, the Royalist cause was seen to be hopeless. The king, as the lesser of two evils, surrendered to the Scots at Newark. The Scots were willing to help Charles if he would promise to set up Presbyterianism in England; but this he refused to do, and the Scots agreed to surrender him to the Parliament.

Sects in Parliament.—The majority of the English Parliament was Presbyterian; the mass of the army was Independent, and had as little liking for Presbyterianism as for Episcopacy, justly considering the one as intolerant as the other. Charles hoped to profit from these dissensions, and it seemed with good reason; for when the Parliament resolved to reduce the army, to compel officers to take the Covenant, and not to pay full arrears, the military leaders instructed Cornet Joyce to seize the king, while they themselves marched on London, dismissed leading Presbyterians from

Parliament, and began to negotiate with Charles. The terms they offered were not illiberal : a Council of State, appointed for seven years, was to replace the Privy Council, and there was to be general toleration in religion. But Charles still hoped to regain all he had lost, and after escaping to Carisbrooke agreed with the Scots that he would establish Presbyterianism in England if they would restore him (1647).

Intervention of the Scots.—The Earl of Argyle's opponents in Scotland now invaded England in the king's behalf, but Cromwell utterly defeated them at Preston, and also came to a complete understanding with Argyle himself in Scotland (1648). While the army was engaged in suppressing Royalist risings in Kent, Essex and Wales, the Presbyterians in Parliament made a last effort to come to terms with the king ; but the Treaty of Newport, which demanded the establishment of Presbyterianism, came to nothing. The army's patience was now at an end. Colonel Pride was ordered to purge the Parliament of its Presbyterian members by force, so that the Independent minority, the "Rump," might deal effectively with the king.

Execution of the King.—Charles was brought to Windsor, and the "Rump," disregarding the opposition of the House of Lords, passed an Act creating a High Court of Justice to try him for treason in levying war against the Parliament and people of England. The Act named a hundred and thirty-five commissioners, but less than half of them consented to act. The king, who refused to plead before a court so illegally constituted, was declared guilty and condemned to death. He was executed two days after the trial (January 30, 1649).

CHAPTER XVI

THE COMMONWEALTH

1650. Dunbar.
1651. Battle of Worcester and Navigation Act.
1653. Cromwell, Lord Protector.
1658. Death of Cromwell.

Military Rule.—The execution of the king had been neither legal nor popular. If he was guilty of treason on the grounds alleged, then great masses of his subjects were guilty too; the military leaders who had executed him were only a small minority even on their own side. The arbitrary nature of his trial had made a tyrannical and unwise king into a martyr and created a passionate attachment to his innocent heir. In any case, after the king's execution England was governed by a usurping clique of soldiers, whose authority could only be maintained by the sword. However strong their conviction that they were acting in the only possible way to secure English liberties, they could hardly pretend that they were carrying out the will of the majority of their countrymen.

After such a break in the constitution the immediate problem was to carry on the government and to avoid anarchy. The Rump's first step—and by the "Rump" must be understood the military leaders quite as much as the mutilated House of Commons—was to abolish monarchy and the House of Lords and to declare England a free commonwealth governed by representatives of the people in Parliament. It then chose

a Council of State to act as an executive in military and foreign affairs; only half of the members of this council were members of Parliament. In other words, the new government was an oligarchy, "half religious, half military, ruling over an incomparably greater number of disaffected subjects." These disaffected subjects included Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Presbyterians, in other words, not only all those who had lately fought for the king, but the majority of those who had fought against him.

Ireland and Scotland.—Some sort of constitution thus being established, the government turned to deal with Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland the Duke of Ormond had taken up arms for the Prince of Wales and had united most parties against the Commonwealth. Cromwell went over in 1649, and by the sack of Drogheda showed that he meant to take full vengeance for the massacre of 1641. Marching south, he secured the coast, and ended by capturing Wexford. His harsh treatment of the Irish was carried out in the same spirit by Ireton and Fleetwood when he was recalled to deal with the Scots.

In Scotland Montrose also had been fighting for the prince, but had been defeated and hanged. Soon afterwards Charles himself landed in Scotland, and by signing the Solemn League and Covenant had secured an army, commanded by David Leslie, to invade England. Cromwell did not wait to be attacked but crossed the Border and marched on Edinburgh; but finding the city and Leslie's position too strong to attack with any chance of success, he fell back on Dunbar (1650). Here too the Scots had the advantage of the position, as they held the high ground, while

Cromwell lay in the plain between them and the sea. When, however, Leslie yielded to the wish of the ministers in the army and left the hill, Cromwell, as usual, seized the opportunity to drive his attack home. The utter defeat of the Scottish army left the road open to Edinburgh and gave Cromwell command of all Scotland south of that city. This defeat was not so distasteful to Charles as might be expected, for it discredited the extreme Covenanters and made an alliance with the English and the other Scottish Royalists more possible. It was for this reason that, after being crowned at Scone on the first day of 1651, he decided to invade England while Cromwell was engaged with Leslie in Fifeshire. His march by way of Lancashire and the Welsh border, however, brought him few recruits, and at last he had to halt at Worcester. Within a fortnight Cromwell was ready to engage him. On the anniversary of Dunbar (September 3) the Royalists were again utterly defeated (1651). Charles made his way to Brighton and escaped to Normandy.

The Navigation Act.—Secure at home, the government soon had a foreign war on their hands. By the passing of the Navigation Act (1651) a great blow was struck at the Dutch, then the chief carriers in the trade of Europe; for the future goods were to be imported into England only in English ships or in ships of the country from which the goods originally came. This and the sympathy of the Dutch with the Stuarts soon brought about a war with Holland. The admirals were Blake on the one side and Van Tromp and De Ruyter on the other. In the first year of the war the Dutch had decidedly the best of it, and Van Tromp was master of the seas; but the govern-

ment's vigour retrieved their disasters, and after two years' fighting the Dutch were glad enough to make peace and to accept the English supremacy at sea (1654).

Rule of the Army.—It was now time that the "Rump" should give way to a more representative body capable of carrying out much-needed reforms; but far from wishing to dissolve, the "Rump" meant to continue in power, and did not hesitate to slight the military chiefs. Cromwell decided to eject it; marching down to the House with a troop of musketeers, he removed the mace from the table and turned the members out. On the same day the Council of State was dissolved too. At last, in name as well as in fact, England was being ruled by a general and his chief officers. But Cromwell still meant to have some sort of Parliament, even although he fully intended to direct affairs; grants of money were required by a commander-in-chief as much as by a king. The Assembly decided upon was not, however, to be elected; it was to be selected by the Army Council from persons nominated by the Congregational churches in each county.

This "Barebones" Parliament, so called from the name of one of its members, was, as a matter of fact, composed of much the same type of men, so far as social position is concerned, as had always been returned to Parliament; but they were of course mainly Independents and political theorists. Convinced that the godly were called upon to govern the ungodly for their own good, Barebones' Parliament entered on a number of reforms with so much zeal and such little discretion that many interests were threatened at once. While the members grew irritable under the control

of their masters, the military leaders, the people at large found government by sects more and more irksome. Unable to accomplish what it desired, Parliament resigned its power into Cromwell's hands.

The army once more took over the direction of affairs, and by the "Instrument of Government" made Cromwell Lord Protector, giving him a Council of State to assist and control him.

In due course (1654) a Parliament was called, but as it gave its whole time to criticising the new constitution, Cromwell soon dissolved it. Freed from all constraint, he now published ordinances merely by his own authority; his eleven major-generals, who divided the country between them and commanded the militia, saw to their execution.

Cromwell's Foreign Policy.—By this time the Dutch war had ended in England's favour, but probably the greatest gain lay in the new spirit which our admirals had created in the navy. After all the Dutch, though rivals in trade, were Protestants, and Cromwell's main principle in foreign policy was to form a great European Protestant alliance against the Catholic Powers. He hardly realised that the leading state in Europe was no longer Spain, but France; and therefore he was not sorry, even while nominally at peace with Spain, to attack her possessions in the West Indies when she refused to allow freedom of trade in those parts and to grant freedom of worship to English merchants in Spanish ports. However, the expedition sent out under Penn and Venables met with no very brilliant success, except the capture of Jamaica (1655), although the result—a declaration of war by Spain—was not unsatisfactory to Cromwell. To

humble Spain he allied himself with France, making, as a condition of his alliance, the French minister Mazarin bring pressure on the Duke of Savoy to stop the persecution of the Protestant Vaudois. In the West Indies Blake captured the Spanish treasure fleet, and on the Continent the allies captured Mardyke and Dunkirk, of which the latter was handed over to England (1658). Whether the French or the English gained most from the alliance will be seen more clearly in the reign of William III.

Cromwell and Parliament.—Once more in 1656 Cromwell called a Parliament together. When it had been purged of a hundred of its members, it presented to the Lord Protector a "Humble Petition and Advice" asking him to take the title of king and to create a Second Chamber nominated by himself. Declining the title of king—as the army begged him to do—he accepted the rest of the Humble Petition; but when the old House quarrelled with the new he dissolved them both (1657).

The "Humble Petition" had practically invested Cromwell with all the power of the old kings, and brought back the constitution to much its old form. But he himself was beginning to fail, worn out with anxiety and responsibility. He died on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, September 3, 1658.

The Army and a Restoration.—Richard Cromwell, who quietly succeeded his father as Protector, was not a soldier, and had neither the power nor the inclination to control the army leaders, who were now headed by his brother-in-law, Fleetwood. In six months he resigned office, leaving the army once more supreme. The Rump was recalled, only to be once more ejected

by a general, this time Lambert. With no commanding spirit to control them, the officers quarrelled among themselves. Monk, a soldier of fortune who had fought for the Commonwealth by land and sea, was now commanding in Scotland; jealously suspecting Lambert of wishing to seize the government, he marched south, and, being joined by Fairfax, who had lived for some years in retirement, advanced on London. The city hailed with delight his suggestion to call a freely elected Parliament, and would probably have been equally pleased to know that he was meanwhile negotiating with the King of Scots. The new Parliament had hardly met when it received a message from Charles known as the Declaration of Breda, in which he promised a general amnesty, religious toleration, and the security of property—all subject to the wishes of a Parliament elected in the old way. An invitation to return was at once sent to the king, who entered London on May 29, 1660.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TRIUMPH OF PARLIAMENT

CHARLES II

1661. Corporation Act.
1664. Conventicle Act.
1665. The Five Mile Act.
1668. The Triple Alliance.
1672. Declaration of Indulgence.
1673. Test Act.
1679. Exclusion Bill.

The Restoration.—Charles II. had no easy task before him, for although the nation as a whole was heartily tired of the army, parties were still keenly divided. The alliance between the Cavaliers and the Presbyterians could not be expected to last; any toleration extended to the king's Roman Catholic supporters would be sure to unite the rest of the country against the government; and, lastly, it was the army, and not the Cavaliers, who had really restored the monarchy. Charles's own charm of manner and want of any fixed principles were likely to smooth over the first difficulties, but his long residence abroad had made it rather difficult for him to understand Englishmen. He therefore had to rely upon one of the Parliamentary leaders of 1640, Sir Edward Hyde, soon created Earl of Clarendon, to establish the monarchy once more on a sure basis.

Charles was extravagant, and therefore by not making too liberal grants Parliament could keep him under control; the fixed income of £1,200,000 a year for life, large as it seems, was always less than the king could spend, as was seen when a year later he sold Dunkirk to France for £200,000.

The Church's Use of Power.—When the first Parliament of the reign met, it was found to be strongly Episcopalian; much of its business was concerned with religion, and these religious Acts were called the Clarendon Code. The first was a Corporation Act by which all members of municipal corporations had to take the Sacrament according to the form of the Church of England. The grievance of the Puritans was made more real by the fact that at that time corporations returned many members of Parliament. Next year (1662) came the Act of Uniformity, restoring the Prayer Book, and requiring ordination by a bishop and an oath of non-resistance to the sovereign from all ministers. The 2000 ministers whom this act drove from their livings were still further persecuted in 1664 by the Conventicle Act, which took away the right of meeting from all bodies outside the Church of England. The last measure of the Code, the Five Mile Act, forbade the clergy deprived by the Act of Uniformity to come within five miles of their former parish or of any borough. All these oppressive measures show that the king was either unwilling or unable to assert himself; for *his* chief interest in religious affairs was to secure toleration in order that the Roman Catholic Church, of which he was secretly a member, might share in it. All the Clarendon Code achieved was to foster the growth of Dissent or Nonconformity, as is the usual result of religious persecution.

War with Holland.—In 1662 Charles had married Catharine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess who brought him Tangier and Bombay as a dowry. These new possessions drew England into still closer contact with her trade rivals, the Dutch, who had

rich East Indian and West African colonies ; and when new friction arose owing to a collision between the two nations in New Amsterdam, war was declared with Holland (1664). The English fleet, which had done such good service under the Commonwealth, had been neglected, and it was some time before a new one could be organised. A battle was won off Lowestoft in 1665, but the Dutch were the victors in the Battle of the Downs in 1666. However, in the same year they were decisively defeated off the North Foreland, and in spite of De Ruyter's destruction of shipping in the Medway in 1667, the Peace of Breda brought the war to an end ; the Dutch secured a modification of the Navigation Act by which they recovered a good deal of their carrying trade, while England retained New Amsterdam, now renamed New York.

During the war London suffered two calamities. In 1665 the Great Plague carried off thousands of the inhabitants of the undrained, unhealthy city, and in 1666 a fire burnt down nearly the whole of it. The fire certainly made it possible to build the city on healthier lines.

The Cabal.—Clarendon's rule had made him unpopular with all classes ; his moderation in resisting the extremer wishes of the Parliament on the one hand and the court on the other earned him the hatred of both sides ; above all, he was credited with the bad management of the Dutch war, which he had really opposed. To avoid his impeachment by Parliament for trying to raise a standing army and for traitorously selling Dunkirk, Charles dismissed him from office and persuaded him to retire to France. His place was taken by a kind of committee, or, as it

was called at that time, Cabal; it was a mere coincidence that the latter word happened to be formed by the initials of those who composed it: Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. But this committee did not represent any settled policy; indeed, its members were actuated by very different views and interests. Some were Catholics, others were Protestants; they were, in fact, merely individuals who were able to offer advice to the king more freely than any one else. It was the king, and not the Cabal, who was responsible in 1668 for the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden against France.

And yet in sending Sir William Temple to negotiate the alliance Charles was acting against his personal inclinations. He was not at all sorry that Louis XIV. should attack the Spanish Netherlands and thus threaten the Dutch, though he thought that a Protestant Alliance would induce Parliament to give him increased grants and increased power. But when this did not happen he had no hesitation in concluding, for a large sum down and an annual pension, the secret Treaty of Dover with France and an undertaking not only to declare himself a Roman Catholic, but to do his best to help Louis to win the Spanish Netherlands (1670). Only the Roman Catholic members of the Cabal knew of this treaty; their colleagues, who were themselves not very partial to the Dutch, were hoodwinked by a sham treaty which omitted the clause referring to the king's conversion.

The King's Dispensing Power.—It is never difficult to find a pretext for war, and in 1672 England, still jealous of trade rivalry and still resenting the Medway disgrace, declared war in alliance with France against

Holland. Almost at the same time, in order to secure toleration for the Roman Catholics, the king published a Declaration of Indulgence to all Dissenters, thus overriding an Act of Parliament by his dispensing power. But as Parliament had been prorogued in 1670, there was no opportunity to test opinion, and preparations for war fully occupied public attention.

The Dutch War.—As far as the English were concerned little was gained, for James, Duke of York, the king's brother, could only claim a doubtful victory in a sea-fight off Southwold; but on land the French carried all before them. The Dutch, compelled to fall back on Amsterdam, had only saved themselves by opening the dykes. In their extremity they called to the head of affairs the young Prince of Orange, William III., nephew of the King of England. Their own want of success and the French victories both tended to make the war unpopular with Englishmen; rumours as to the secret clauses of the French alliance only increased their dislike of fighting in alliance with Catholics against Protestants.

This change in popular opinion was clearly shown in the Parliament which Charles's want of money compelled him to reassemble in 1673. Not only was he obliged to withdraw his Declaration of Indulgence, but the Houses passed a Test Act which prevented any non-member of the Church of England from holding office under the Crown. The immediate consequence was the break-up of the Cabal and the resignation of the Duke of York, a Roman Catholic, from the command of the navy. Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby, who

succeeded Clifford as Treasurer, took advantage of the indecisive nature of the Dutch war to conclude peace (1674).

The Popish Plot.—The Duke of York was heir to the throne, and after the death of his first wife, the daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, he had married Mary of Modena, a Catholic princess. With the Church party so powerful in Parliament, toleration, as we have seen, was out of the question. But while the Duke of York was a Roman Catholic, his children were Protestants, and the marriage of Mary, the elder of them, with William of Orange in 1677 was very popular. Perhaps it was this popularity of a Protestant alliance that induced Titus Oates, a convert of the Jesuits from Nonconformity, to come forward with a story of a Popish plot to kill the king and put the Duke of York on the throne. Englishmen were only too willing to believe the worst that could be told them about Roman Catholics, and, as usual in such cases, they were soon told all they wanted to hear. A curious outcome of the excitement caused by the plot was the impeachment of Danby by the House of Commons; no one was a stauncher Churchman, but Louis XIV., furious at his support of the peace with Holland, was eager for his removal. This removal was brought about by the revelation of Danby's secret negotiations with Louis for a pension for Charles in order that he might not need to call a Parliament.

The Exclusion Bill.—The outburst of popular fury when Oates and his imitators invented their Popish plots induced Lord Shaftesbury and the "country party," as his supporters were called, to bring in an Exclusion Bill (1679) to prevent the Duke of York, as

a Roman Catholic, from succeeding to the throne. Before the Bill could be read a third time Parliament was dissolved, but not before it had passed the famous Act of Habeas Corpus, which secured personal liberty by giving every unconvicted prisoner the right to demand a trial or bail within twenty days of his imprisonment.

Shaftesbury's friends, now beginning to be known as Whigs, immediately *petitioned* the king to reassemble Parliament, while the court party, led by Halifax, and about this time beginning to be known as Tories, expressed their *abhorrence* of such interference with the royal prerogative. The "petitioners" gained their point, but only to see the Exclusion Bill rejected by the "abhorrers" in the Lords (1680). Once more, in the following year, the Bill was passed by Parliament, but by this time public opinion had veered round to the king's side, and he was able to stop any further progress by a dissolution. Shaftesbury too recognised that belief in the plot had died out, and thought it prudent to retire to Holland.

Tory Reaction.—The triumph of the Court party was complete when the discovery of the Rye House Plot (1683) to murder the king and the Duke of York on their return ride from Newmarket led to the implication and execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, two of the Opposition leaders. It is most improbable that either Russell or Sidney knew anything about the Rye House Plot, but they were certainly not believers in the doctrine of non-resistance. Sidney's conviction was obtained largely by his republican (unpublished) writings.

JAMES II

1687. Declaration of Indulgence.
1688. Trial of the Seven Bishops.

Monmouth's Rebellion.—When Charles died in 1685 the Tory reaction was still strong, and his brother James, Duke of York, succeeded without the least sign of opposition; on the contrary, Parliament voted him large life-grants and agreed to punish Titus Oates. But the government soon had to deal with two rebellions in favour of a Protestant succession: the one, in Scotland, was headed by the Earl of Argyle, and the other, in the south of England, by the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II. Even during his father's reign Monmouth had been suggested as a possible heir by Shaftesbury and the Whigs, and an attempt had been made to persuade people that he was legitimate. When Charles died Monmouth and Argyle were both in retirement in Holland, and agreed to head simultaneous risings in England and Scotland against James. Argyle, overborne by his council and anticipated by the government, did not even fight a battle before he was captured and executed (1685). Meanwhile Monmouth had been welcomed by the West Country peasantry, and had advanced by way of Taunton and Bridgewater to Bristol. Retiring before the royal forces to Bridgewater, he was utterly defeated at Sedgemoor and soon afterwards executed, while his unfortunate followers were either butchered by Colonel Kirke, or hanged by Chief Justice Jeffreys at the Bloody Assize, or shipped to the Barbadoes.

The King's Dispensing Power.—This success emboldened James to persuade Parliament to repeal the

Test Act; but this was the last thing that the Tory majority would be likely to accept, and as a matter of fact it protested against the king's appointment of army officers who had not conformed to it. The protest was met by a prorogation and the dismissal of Halifax. Opposed by Parliament, James, like his father before him, had recourse to the judges. A test case was brought into the courts, and a judgment was given which the king held to legalise his dispensing power; at any rate he immediately made many Roman Catholics officers in the army and dignitaries in the Church. At the same time he formed a large camp at Hounslow to overawe London. By creating a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission to deal with Church affairs, and by giving high government posts to Roman Catholics, James hoped to bring the nation to accept his will. However, he found determined resistance even in the Universities, as, for instance, when the Fellows of Magdalen College refused to accept his Catholic nominee for their president.

Trial of the Seven Bishops.—In the spring of 1687 the king issued a Declaration of Indulgence for all Nonconformists with even more liberal provisions than the Declaration which his brother had been compelled to withdraw in 1673; but it was not received with any great enthusiasm by the Protestant Dissenters, who were just as much opposed to toleration for Roman Catholics as the Tory Anglicans, and far more opposed to political absolutism. When James ordered a second Declaration to be read in every church on certain days, Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops petitioned to be excused; they were at once imprisoned and tried on the charge of

publishing a seditious libel. Their acquittal was welcomed with unmistakable demonstrations of joy throughout the country (1688).

The imprisonment of the bishops had come as a climax to the king's unconstitutional government, but by itself it would probably have failed to bring about a revolution. Unfortunately for James, it was at that moment that his most ardent wish was realised, the birth of an heir. The young prince would naturally be brought up a Roman Catholic, and that was a prospect which led English statesmen to act at once. The king's daughters were both Protestants, and the elder was married to the Protestant champion of Europe, William of Orange, himself, till the birth of the young prince, the nearest male heir to the crown.

William of Orange.—On the very day of the bishops' acquittal a letter signed by Lords Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, and Lumley, Bishop Compton, Edward Russell, cousin of Lord Russell, and Henry Sidney, brother of Algernon, was sent to William inviting him to restore English liberties in arms. The invitation was accepted. Long delayed by westerly winds, the Prince of Orange at last landed at Torbay on November 5, 1688. Advancing by way of Exeter, he marched towards London, while the king, after encamping at Salisbury, gradually retired before him. This hesitation proved fatal, for it made the royal cause seem hopeless. Desertion became fashionable; Churchill, James's best officer, and even the Princess Anne went over to William.

Losing nerve, the king made all sorts of concessions, and appointed commissioners to treat with his son-in-law at the very time when he had made up his mind

to seek an asylum in France. He had actually embarked, but was captured and brought back to London. Much to his surprise, he was welcomed with enthusiasm, and might still have kept his crown by making necessary concessions; but once more his heart failed him, and, much to the relief of William, he succeeded in escaping to France.

The Revolution Settlement.—By calling a Convention Parliament of all those members who had been elected in the reign of Charles II., William placed the fate of the country in the hands of the Whigs. It seemed at first as if the two conflicting principles of an elective and an hereditary monarchy held by the two Houses would result in a deadlock. The Lords suggested that James should still keep the title of king, but that William should act as regent; then it was proposed that Mary should be queen, and that William should act for her. Both proposals were disposed of by William's declaration that he would not entertain either of them. In the end the Convention offered the throne to William and Mary conjointly, while the elective principle was established by a Declaration of Rights which declared the recent acts of James II. illegal, and thus became the new standard of government.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT: WILLIAM III AND MARY

1689. THE BILL OF RIGHTS. KILLIECRANKIE.
1690. BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.
1692. LA HOGUE AND GLENCOE.
1694. TRIENNIAL ACT.
1697. PEACE OF RYSWICK.
1701. ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

The Revolution in Scotland.—William thus became King of England, but so far no account had been taken of Scotland or Ireland. In Scotland, under the last two Stuarts, Presbyterianism had become as prescribed a religion as Roman Catholicism, and it seemed for a moment as if the Royalists and Episcopalians there would capture the government for James. But conditions in Scotland were very unlike those in England; especially different was the division of parties and classes, for while in England Anglicans and Presbyterians had on occasion been able to unite against the Crown, in Scotland the dominating feature in public life was the power and dissensions of the nobility. As soon as James retired to France the Presbyterians found that owing to the absence of the royal troops in England they were strong enough to abolish Episcopacy, and to make this a condition of their offer of the Scottish crown to William and Mary.

But there were really two races in Scotland, Lowlanders and Highlanders; the latter, though they had no particular affection for the Stuarts and had little interest in constitutional or ecclesiastical problems,

were unwilling to accept a Dutchman for their king or to submit to the ascendancy of an Earl of Argyle. Under an energetic leader like Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, the Highland clans could harass the government till James could send a real army. But when the reinforcements sent by James were seen to be disappointingly small, Dundee had to fight or see the clansmen melt away to their homes. His opponent, General Mackay, had tried to protect the Lowlands by erecting forts in a number of strong positions, but in July 1689 had marched into the Atholl country to recapture the Castle of Blairs. With a small army of four thousand men he had just emerged from the pass of Killiecrankie, when the Highlanders swept down upon him and annihilated his army. Even if Dundee had not been mortally wounded in the action, this victory could not have determined the war ; but as it was, with their best leader killed, the Highlanders could no longer hold out against the government, and within a year and a half the whole country was in William's hands. The massacre of Glencoe (1692), which resulted in the extirpation of the Macdonalds of that glen by the influence of their enemies, the Campbells, was the unfortunate finishing-touch of the subjugation.

Ireland.—Meanwhile James had landed in Ireland, and after persuading the Irish Parliament to repeal the Act of Settlement had besieged Londonderry. The Protestant garrison, under George Walker, a clergyman, and Major Henry Baker, held out bravely till relieved by William's ships, which succeeded at last in breaking the boom across the Foyle. On the very day of the relief of Londonderry the besieged garrison of Enniskillen went out to meet the Irish army at Newton

Butler and completely defeated it. In the following year William went over to Ireland himself and defeated James, now reinforced by French troops under Lauzun, at the Battle of the Boyne (July 1, 1690). Abandoned by their king, who fled to Dublin and thence to France, the Irish, under the gallant Sarsfield, made a last stand at Limerick. William, after failing to capture the town, first by siege and then by assault, returned to England, leaving the command to Ginkel and Churchill. The latter captured Cork and Kinsale, while the former defeated St. Ruth, the new French commander of the Irish forces, at Aughrim. The surrender of Limerick on terms which enabled the Irish to take service in France left the whole country in English hands.

Unfortunately for the future relations of England and Ireland, that part of the Treaty of Limerick which assured the Irish Roman Catholics the same liberty as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. was immediately violated. The Parliament at Westminster not only insisted on introducing a test in Ireland which excluded all Roman Catholics from office and from the Parliament at Dublin, but also soon afterwards subjected them to the most irritating social and commercial restrictions.

French Aggression.—The great interest of William's life was resistance to the aggressive power of France. This had been one of his chief reasons for accepting the crown of England, and one of his earliest acts as king was to declare war against Louis XIV. The Irish campaign had been part of the general hostilities; naval battles were fought in the Channel, and a European confederation against France was taking the field on the Continent. In the Channel the first victory was gained by

the French, when in 1690 the English and Dutch fleets were defeated off Beachy Head; but Russell's success at La Hogue in 1692 put an end to all fears of a French invasion. On land William himself was in command, but, though an able general, he was usually defeated in the field. He was beaten at Steinkirk in 1692—the French captured Namur in the same year—and at Neerwinden in the following year, but he recaptured Namur in 1695, and thus dealt a heavy blow at French prestige. In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick ended the war by France recognising William as King of England and by restoring all French conquests made since the Peace of Nimwegen in 1678.

Rise of Party Government.—While all this fighting had been going on in Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders, home politics in England itself had been full of interest. At the beginning of his reign William had done his best to conciliate all parties, and although the Whigs had been chiefly instrumental in making him king and in amending the constitution, he chose some of his chief advisers from among the Tories. But this impartiality did not prevent some of the bishops and about three hundred of the clergy, known as non-jurors, from refusing to take the oath of allegiance. When war was declared against France, and brought with it heavy taxation and a National Debt, the Tories gradually formed a regular opposition to the government, and the king was rather embarrassed than helped by the advice of their leaders. It was therefore suggested to William by Sunderland in 1693 that he should choose his ministers only from the party strongest in the House of Commons; but it was not before 1696, and then only after several conspiracies

against the king had strengthened the Whig influence, that William fully carried out the suggestion by choosing his chief ministers entirely from the Whigs. Two years previously (1694) a Triennial Act was passed, limiting the duration of Parliament to three years.

The Whig *Junto* formed in 1696, consisting of Somers, Montague, Shrewsbury, and Sunderland, is memorable as setting a precedent which eventually came to be recognised as the origin of government by party. But as at this time and for long afterwards the king did not feel bound to act upon the advice offered by his ministers, the Cabinet system as we now understand it was by no means yet fully developed. As a matter of fact the Tories were strong enough to drive the members of the Junto gradually from office. Queen Mary had died in 1694, and William, who was never very popular himself, had alienated English good-will by his marked preference for Dutchmen. It was this feeling of jealousy which prompted Parliament in 1698 to insist upon the reduction of the standing army, legalised by the Mutiny Act of 1693, to 7000 men, and the dismissal of William's Dutch Guards.

The Partition Treaties.—In 1698 foreign affairs again demanded William's attention. The King of Spain had no children, and his nearest heir was the Dauphin of France ; but as the Dauphin's mother had renounced her claim to the succession, the Spanish throne when vacant would fall to Leopold of Austria. As Leopold's succession would completely upset the balance of power in Europe, William persuaded Louis XIV., to agree that the succession should pass to Leopold's grandson, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. This first Partition Treaty was upset by the Electoral Prince's death, and

in 1700 a second treaty was drawn up by which Leopold's second son, the Archduke Charles, was to succeed to Spain and the Spanish Netherlands, while the Spanish dominions in Italy were to fall to France. When, however, the King of Spain died in the same year and left his undivided possessions to the Dauphin's younger son Philip, Louis XIV. declined to be held by the Partition Treaty at all. In all the arrangements so far no account whatever had been taken of the wishes of the Spaniards themselves.

William's policy in resisting France was approved by most Englishmen when, on the death of James II., Louis immediately recognised his son as King of England. As a result the Whigs came back to power and passed the Act of Settlement, by which the crown was to pass on William's death first to Anne and then to the Electress Sophia and her Protestant descendants (1701). By the same Act it was decided that the consent of Parliament was necessary for wars on behalf of the sovereign's foreign possessions and for his absence from the British Isles; and by a clause hardly to be expected in such an Act, judges were no longer to hold office during the king's pleasure, but for life—unless removed by a vote in Parliament. In a later session a resolution was passed to maintain an army and a fleet each of 40,000 men, thus providing William with the troops he required for the Grand Alliance he had already formed with the Empire, Holland, Prussia, and Hesse against France. Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, was sent to command in Flanders till the king's arrival. But William was not to fight again; he was thrown from his horse at the beginning of 1702 and died shortly afterwards.

CHAPTER XIX

PARTY RULE: ANNE

1704. Blenheim.
1706. Ramillies.
1707. The Act of Union.
1708. Oudenarde.
1709. Malplaquet.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht.

Anne and Political Parties. — Anne, the younger daughter of James II., was a weak-minded woman who was entirely guided by her friend Lady Marlborough. Her chief ministers were Marlborough himself and Godolphin. But though the Tories thus came into power, the Whig war policy was not abandoned; on the other hand, Marlborough, one of the greatest generals in history, became the Captain-General of the Allies and undertook the defence of the Dutch frontier.

Scotland and the Act of Settlement.—In 1703 it seemed possible that a war would break out at home between England and Scotland. While England was glad enough to conclude the Methuen treaty with Portugal, and thus, in return for allowing the importation of Portuguese wines on specially favourable terms, secure an opening for English woollens in Portugal, she still regarded Scotland, for trade purposes, as a foreign country and forbade her to trade with the English colonies. Trade jealousies had developed into national enmity owing to an absurd Scottish scheme to colonise Darien, the failure of which in 1699 had been made more bitter by active hostility from England; and in 1703 the Scottish

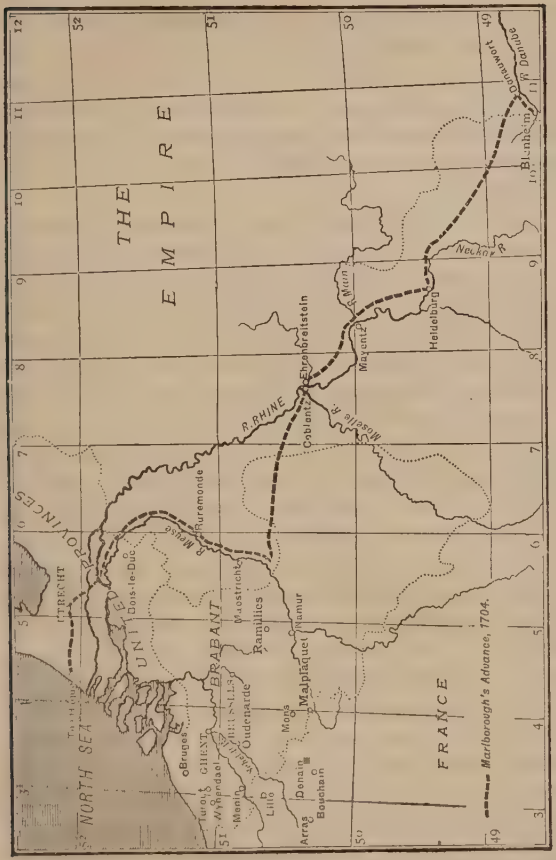
Parliament passed an Act of Security providing for the separation of the two thrones and governments on Anne's death. England replied by further trade restrictions, and the two nations seemed on the brink of war. But commissioners had been sitting since 1702 to arrange for a closer union of the two countries, and after all Scotland had more to lose from isolation and more to gain from union than England. At last, after long negotiations, an Act of Union was passed in 1707, of which the chief points were that the two countries should form one United Kingdom of Great Britain, with succession to the throne according to the English Act of Settlement; that the Scottish Church and law should remain untouched; that equal trade privileges should be enjoyed by both countries; and that forty-five Scottish members and sixteen Scottish representative peers should attend a United Parliament.

Marlborough and the War.—All this time the war of the Spanish succession had been raging by land and sea, in Austria, Spain, and the Netherlands. In the same year (1704) as Marlborough won his great victory over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, on the Upper Danube, Gibraltar was captured by Rooke and Cloudesley Shovel. In the following year Peterborough took Barcelona for the Allies, and in 1706 Marlborough's defeat of Villeroi at Ramillies led to the conquest of the greater part of the Spanish Netherlands. When at the same time the Allies entered Madrid it seemed that the object of the war had been secured; but in 1707 the Spaniards rose in favour of Philip, whom their late king had named as his successor, and under the Duke of Berwick, a son of James II., defeated the Allies at Almanza—a defeat which was more than

repaired in 1708 by Marlborough's victory over the Duke of Vendôme at Oudenarde, in the Netherlands.

Effect of the War on Parties.—The course of the war had not been without effect on parties in England. When the campaign of 1703 ended without any signal success, the hostile attitude of the extreme Tories compelled the moderate members of the party, who, like Godolphin and Marlborough, were heartily in favour of the policy of William III., to draw closer to the Whigs. This was the easier for them because they were able to replace Nottingham on his resignation by Robert Harley, Speaker of the House of Commons, a man who had actually succeeded in creating a personal following composed of members of both parties. With Harley went his friend Henry St. John, who had hitherto employed his brilliant gifts in the service of the extreme Tories, but whose ambition and want of any settled principles made it easy for him to support what was after all a Whig foreign policy. The victory of Blenheim was a great blow to the high Tories, and in 1705, after the elections had returned a large Whig majority, the queen herself seemed to change sides.

And yet all this time the ministry was a Tory ministry, although it depended for its existence on Whig support; and the queen, in spite of appearances, was as much a Tory as ever. But the Whigs were too strong to be resisted, and in 1706 were able to demand the admission into the ministry of several of their leaders, and especially of Sunderland, who, as well as being an ardent Whig, was Marlborough's son-in-law. Harley and St. John, however, saw the queen's repugnance to this change in the ministry, and were



Map Illustrating Marlborough's Campaigns, 1704-1710

regarded as the only Tories of eminence left in office. Harley now began to intrigue against his colleagues, and it was only by threatening resignation that

Godolphin and Marlborough secured his dismissal. As St. John went with his patron, the ministry was more than ever dependent on the Whigs, and there was now no middle party. An attempted invasion of Scotland by the son of James II., the Old Pretender, prevented by Admiral Byng, still further discredited the Tories.

After Oudenarde the French offered terms of peace, but when the Allies refused to accept anything short of the cession of the Netherlands and, if necessary, French support to drive Philip out of Spain, the negotiations fell through. In spite of her exhaustion France put another army in the field, and was almost able to claim its defeat at Malplaquet (1709) as a victory, so many of the Allies were killed. The Allies seemed more fortunate when by Stanhope's energy the Archduke Charles entered Madrid; but Spanish national feeling was entirely with Philip, and the archduke was very soon obliged to withdraw.

The war seemed now in danger of being indefinitely prolonged, and Englishmen were becoming weary of victories which increased taxation. The Tories, profiting by a final quarrel between the Duchess of Marlborough and the queen—now under the domination of Mrs. Masham, a relation of Harley's—and further helped by the unpopular impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell for a high Tory sermon entitled "The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State," gradually recovered lost ground. First Sunderland and then Godolphin was dismissed. After a vain attempt to form a coalition ministry Harley advised a dissolution, and found himself, with St. John, at the head of a large Tory majority (1710).

The Treaty of Utrecht.—When Marlborough returned home in the same year he not only found it impossible to reconcile the queen and his wife, but also discovered that his own influence was gone. The Tories were intent upon concluding peace, and were already secretly negotiating with the French. To disgrace Marlborough was the best means to their end, and on a charge of receiving bribes from the army contractors he was dismissed from all his offices. The last obstacle to peace was thus removed, and in 1713 the War of the Spanish Succession was closed by the Treaty of Utrecht. The peace was popular, and on the whole not unfavourable to England. Philip was recognised as King of Spain and the Indies; Charles of Austria was given the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia; Sicily went to the Duke of Savoy; England retained Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, and was given a monopoly of the slave trade, hitherto held by France. Louis recognised the Protestant succession in England and dismissed the Pretender. The French and Spanish thrones, it was agreed, should never be united.

Bolingbroke and the Succession.—But in the midst of their triumph the Tory leaders, the Earl of Oxford (Harley) and Viscount Bolingbroke (St. John), quarrelled. Both of them had begun to intrigue with the Pretender, for they knew that the Elector of Hanover was inclined to the Whigs. The queen herself had no affection for the House of Hanover, and if the Pretender would have sacrificed his religion, she would have gladly worked for his succession to the throne. But as this was beyond hope, Oxford

did his best to reconcile the queen to the Hanoverian succession. His evident success induced his jealous colleague to capture the Tory leadership by introducing the Schism Bill, the object of which was to insist that the children of Dissenters should be educated only by teachers licensed by the bishops. Oxford, whose wife and children were Presbyterians, was embarrassed; he neither opposed nor supported the Bill. The queen, who was above all things devoted to the Church party, was persuaded to dismiss him.

Bolingbroke's complete triumph was only prevented by the queen's sudden illness. Taken unawares, he could not resist the claim of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, heads of two of the most powerful Whig families, to take their places as privy councillors, and even found himself obliged to ask the dying queen to appoint the Duke of Shrewsbury, one of the leaders in the Revolution of 1688, as Lord High Treasurer in succession to Harley. The supporters of a Protestant succession were thus able to proclaim George of Hanover king in accordance with the Act of Settlement, while Bolingbroke saw all hopes of a Stuart restoration destroyed and his own political career ruined.

CHAPTER XX

THE WHIG OLIGARCHY (1714–1760)

GEORGE I

1715. Jacobite Rising.
1716. Septennial Act.
1720. South Sea Bubble

The Whig Triumph.—The accession of George I. meant more than the triumph of the Whigs, although it certainly so discredited the Tories that their party came to be regarded as Jacobite and disloyal to the government. The most important result was that a king who had never taken the trouble to learn English and whose real interests lay in Hanover and in foreign affairs left English matters more and more to his ministers; the power of the Crown fell into the hands of the Cabinet, whose president, now that the king seldom attended its meetings, was able to exert far greater control over his followers and to initiate far more measures in reliance upon their support and cohesion than had ever been possible before.

The first business of the new Parliament was to inquire into the negotiations which had resulted in the Treaty of Utrecht. Oxford and Bolingbroke were impeached; the former, after a year's imprisonment, was released, but the latter fled to France and was declared a traitor; he had already become the Pretender's secretary.

Jacobite Rising.—Rioting in the West Country and

in the Midlands, chiefly directed against Dissenters, caused the government little trouble, but was hailed by the Jacobites as a sign that the country was longing for the Pretender. Unfortunately for the Jacobites, Louis XIV. died at this moment, leaving as heir his great-grandson, a boy of five. The regency of France fell to the Duke of Orleans, himself the next heir to the throne after the young king. But Philip V. of Spain might choose to repudiate his renunciation of the French crown, and the regent had no desire to quarrel with England, which was not likely to tolerate any claim put forward by Philip. The help from France, therefore, expected by the Jacobites was not forthcoming when the Earl of Mar tried to raise Scotland for the Pretender. It was, however, too late to postpone the expedition, and Mar raised his standard at Braemar on September 6, 1715. The English government acted energetically; it arrested leading Jacobites and suspended Habeas Corpus. The command in Scotland was given to the Duke of Argyle. But Mar was an extremely bad general; he wasted time idly at Perth, when he might have annihilated Argyle, and eventually, after an indecisive battle at Sheriffmuir, fell back again on Perth, while his opponent secured the south of Scotland.

Meanwhile some gentlemen in the north of England had risen, headed by the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster. They were joined at Brampton, in Cumberland, by Lord Kenmure and other Catholic lords of Galloway, and by a detachment of two thousand men sent by the Earl of Mar. Under Mr. Forster, one of the few Protestants among them, they now advanced into Lancashire, gaining hardly any recruits but a few Roman Catholic gentry. At Preston they were met by

General Wills with a small force, and ignominiously capitulated.

Just before Christmas the Pretender himself landed in Scotland, and was bitterly disappointed to find the scanty numbers of the forces commanded by Mar. His arrival rather depressed than encouraged his followers, for he was entirely lacking in the gifts that attract support. Retreating before Argyle, the Jacobites fell back on Montrose, and James, seeing the hopelessness of his adventure, took ship to France. Argyle humanely refrained from harrying the clansmen, who dispersed to their homes, but the Dutch Guards who arrived later did their best to follow them up and stamp out the rebellion. The government was singularly moderate: Lords Kenmure and Derwentwater were the only leaders who were executed; less than thirty of the less distinguished prisoners were hanged; some hundreds were transported to the American colonies.

The Whigs and the Septennial Act.—It was not unnatural that after an armed rebellion the government should be unwilling to relinquish power. The Triennial Act of 1694 therefore was repealed and a Septennial Act passed, which enabled the sitting and all subsequent Parliaments to last for seven years. The immediate consequences of the Act were perhaps not so important as its ultimate effect, which was to strengthen the power of Parliament and to lessen the influence of the House of Lords, whose members, as great landowners, held many of the seats in the Commons as their private property.

Foreign Affairs.—The difficulties of the Hanoverian connection were seen in 1716, when Townshend

and Walpole left the Whig ministry rather than support George in a war with Sweden, whose king, Charles XII., objected to the annexation of Bremen and Verdun by Hanover. Once out of office, Walpole opposed the government, now led by Stanhope and Sunderland, in home as well as foreign policy.

He was unable, however, to prevent the repeal of the Act of Occasional Conformity and the Schism Act in 1719. Of these the former had been passed in 1711 to prevent Dissenters from avoiding their political disabilities by taking the Sacrament once a year, and the latter, passed in 1714, had taken education out of their hands. But when the government, fearing that the Prince of Wales would reverse his father's policy and bring back the Tories to power by strengthening them in the House of Lords, proposed a Peerage Bill to restrict the creation of peers, Walpole was influential enough to secure its rejection. The result was that he and Stanhope were again admitted to the ministry.

While, as we have seen, the connection with Hanover—a Central European province hard to defend—was likely to entangle England in Continental politics and wars, the new impulse given to her colonial commerce by the Treaty of Utrecht was bound, sooner or later, to bring her into conflict with Holland, France, and Spain, whose future depended as much as England's on expansion and trade. But we have also seen that the precarious position of the French regent drove him into the arms of England, while Charles XII. of Sweden was furious at the annexation of Bremen and Verdun by Hanover. Sweden found an ally in Spain, where Alberoni, Philip V.'s chief adviser, was anxious for any turn of fortune which would retrieve

the fortunes of his country. The best way to attack England was to help the Pretender, and therefore Alberoni supported an insurrection in Scotland, which was crushed at Glenshiel without an effort; in the preceding year (1718) the Spanish fleet, fresh from the seizure of Sardinia, had been utterly defeated off Cape Passaro by Admiral Byng. The English and French had meanwhile secured first the adhesion of Holland to form a triple, and then that of Austria to form a quadruple, alliance.

Walpole and the South Sea Bubble.—In 1720 England experienced her first commercial crisis. The rapid growth of trade and wealth had created a spirit of speculation, which had been fostered by the exceptional privileges of the South Sea Company. Created by a charter in 1711, the Company had a monopoly of trading in the South Seas, and after the Treaty of Utrecht had had transferred to it the carrying of the limited English trade with the Spanish colonies. The Company enlarged its capital—but not its operations—by taking over part of the National Debt, now amounting to fifty-two millions, the arrangement being that the government's creditors should exchange their stock for South Sea scrip. This connection with the government had the immediate effect of sending up the value of the Company's shares, so that in the summer of 1720 £100 stock sold for £1000. The subsequent effect was to encourage the floating of rival unchartered companies and a general spread of the most absurd speculation and gambling in shares.

The South Sea Company, seeing capital diverted from itself in this way, attacked the other concerns, and in doing so only succeeded in creating suspicion of

all such undertakings. A general panic set in; the Company's own shares dropped to £175—still an excellent investment for the original purchasers, but sheer ruin for those who had come in when the stock stood at £1000. Investors in the other companies lost everything. To the general panic succeeded general clamour against the government, which had given an altogether fictitious value to the Company's shares. Stanhope and Sunderland had to resign, and their fall and his own skilful management in restoring credit—largely, however, by confiscating the Company's property and dividing it among the shareholders—brought Walpole to the head of the administration.

Drapier's Letters.—English policy had by this time practically killed Irish manufactures and trade on the one hand, while on the other absentee landowners drained the country of money and the English government refused to export coin into Ireland. In 1722, however, a patent had been granted for fourteen years to William Wood, of Wolverhampton, to coin copper halfpence and farthings for Ireland to the value of £100,800. Wood really bought the patent for £10,000 from the Duchess of Kendal, one of the king's favourites, and therefore had to get his profit by making the coins of less weight than those minted in England. The Irish government protested; but little was done till Dean Swift roused the whole nation, irrespective of party or religion, by letters which he signed *M. B. Drapier*. In these the draper ridiculed Wood's halfpence so unmercifully that the government had to withdraw the patent.

The growing force of journalism in politics is further illustrated by the career of Bolingbroke.

In 1723 he had been allowed to return to England, but although his estates were restored to him, he was still excluded from Parliament. He thus had to fall back upon pamphleteering or journalism if he wished to influence politics at all. In the *Craftsman* he attacked Walpole every week, and did his best to organise opposition to the government.

George I. died on a visit to Hanover in 1727, and as George II. had long been at variance with his father, it seemed probable that the ministry, and Walpole with them, would be dismissed.

GEORGE II

1729. Methodist Society Founded at Oxford.
1739. Beginning of the Wesleyan Revival
1740. War of the Austrian Succession Begun.
1742. Resignation of Walpole.
1745. Jacobite Rebellion.
1751. Battle of Arcot.
1756–1763. Seven Years' War
1757. Plassey.
1759. Capture of Quebec.

Walpole's Peace Policy.—In the first few weeks of his reign the new king passed over Walpole for Sir Spencer Compton; but when the details of the Civil List had to be arranged Walpole's knowledge of finance proved to be indispensable, especially as he undertook to obtain a far larger sum than Compton His power over George II., who resembled his father in his loyalty to the constitution, was gained through the queen, Caroline of Anspach, who, with more ability than her husband, had the good sense to conceal her superiority, and gained her point by persuading George that her ideas had originated with himself.

Walpole's policy was to maintain peace, and this he was most successful in doing. In Parliament itself,

if not outside, he secured for a long time freedom from opposition by a most lavish system of bribery; the chief opponents of his policy were the members of his own party and of his own ministry whom he had estranged, for he could not tolerate the smallest amount of power in the hands of any one of respectable abilities, and quarrelled successively with Townshend, Carteret, and Chesterfield.

Walpole's experience in finance led him to put the taxation of the country upon a more scientific basis. He had already done much to encourage the freer import of raw materials for manufacture, and in 1733 he proposed an Excise scheme for tobacco and wine which would largely increase the revenue. Hitherto these articles had paid Customs duties at the port of entry, and in order to avoid this payment smuggling had become a common and lucrative business; for the future the duty to the government was to be paid by the retail dealers when they took the goods from bonded—or official—warehouses. It may be noted in passing that Walpole hoped by the increase of revenue thus gained to be able to remit the land tax: a considerable boon to country squires, and a still more considerable one to the great Whig landowners. But the idea of an Excise was traditionally unpopular, and the opposition had an easy task, aided by the mob and interested tradesmen, to represent it as a universal tax upon all articles of food. Even in his own ministry there was a section, led by Chesterfield, which voted against Walpole's measure. The clause allowing goods to be re-exported without paying duty at all, which, as Walpole said, "would have made London a free port and by consequence the market of the

world," did not affect the opposition. In the end the measure was dropped, to the great delight of the nation at large.

Walpole was not slow to visit his indignation upon those of his followers who had opposed him; Chesterfield was dismissed and several army officers were cashiered. From this time indeed is to be dated the establishment of the principle that the members of the ministry are responsible to its head, and that the head is responsible to the Crown.

The opposition, reinforced by the dismissed and discontented Whigs, soon found a useful supporter in Frederick, Prince of Wales. The "Patriots," as they were styled by themselves, had only one sentiment in common, hatred of Walpole; among them were a number of ambitious young politicians, like William Pitt, and the minister showed his contempt for them by nicknaming them "the Boys."

Fall of Walpole.—The long peace had brought great prosperity to England, and this prosperity only made trade obstacles seem the more irritating and intolerable. By the Treaty of Utrecht one English ship a year had been allowed to trade with the Spanish colonies; but in course of time many merchants had engaged in this commerce overseas, and that in spite of the vigorous action of the Spanish coastguards, who insisted on regarding them as smugglers and brutally carried out their right of search. As early as 1733 the Spanish king had formed a "family compact" with his fellow-Bourbon, Louis XV., King of France, to check England. This fact and the growing complaints of the merchants raised a clamour for war in England, which Walpole found it more and more impossible to

resist. The final impulse to the popular agitation was given when a sea-captain named Jenkins returned home and reported that the Spanish coastguards had torn off one of his ears. Walpole had to yield to the national wish or to resign; he yielded, and England plunged into the "War of Jenkins' Ears" against Spain (1739). It is chiefly memorable for Anson's voyage round the world, in the course of which he captured a Spanish galleon laden with treasure and brought home a great booty. Admiral Vernon too captured Porto Bello, but failed in an attack on Cartagena. On the whole the war brought little credit to England, and though Walpole was returned to power in 1741, his influence was at an end. He retired in 1742 and was created Earl of Orford.

War of the Austrian Succession.—Already war was breaking out in Europe. The Emperor Charles VI., who died in 1740, had one child, Maria Theresa. Eager to secure for her the whole of his hereditary possessions in Austria, he had persuaded first his own subjects and then all the governments of Europe to recognise a "Pragmatic Sanction," or law arranging for her succession. But no sooner was he dead than Frederick of Prussia set the example of spoiling Austria by seizing Silesia. He had taken the precaution of allying himself with France, so that when England sent help to Maria Theresa Horace Walpole might well exclaim: "We have the name of war with Spain without the thing, and war with France without the name." When Maria Theresa was persuaded to buy off Frederick's opposition by the cession of Silesia, England found herself really at war with France. George II. commanded the English and Hanoverian

troops in person, and at the Battle of Dettingen (1743) defeated the French under Noailles.

Carteret, the Foreign Minister, who had succeeded in forming a European coalition in defence of Austria, was unable to retain the loyalty of his own colleagues, and was replaced by the Duke of Newcastle and his more able brother, Henry Pelham. On their advice the "Broad Bottom" administration was formed, and thus several of the "Patriots" or "Boys" obtained office.

On the Continent Frederick had again entered into an alliance with France, and Marshal Saxe won a hardly contested battle against the Duke of Cumberland, the younger son of George II., at Fontenoy (1745). But England now persuaded Frederick, by guaranteeing his possession of Silesia, to desert his ally, and he acknowledged Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, as Emperor. The war was no longer confined to Europe; in North America, in India, and on the sea it marked the beginning of a world struggle for supremacy between England and France. It was the first phase of this struggle which was concluded in 1748 by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The right of search, which had really been the origin of the war, was not mentioned; all conquests were restored; the Pragmatic Sanction was established—in fact, everything was left exactly as it had been before the fighting began.

The '45.—A few weeks after the Battle of Fontenoy, Charles Edward, eldest son of the Old Pretender, landed in the west of Scotland with seven followers. Joined by some of the Highland clans, he marched on Edinburgh, which Sir John Cope had left to march

into the Highlands. Here the prince proclaimed his father as James III., and by his tact and charm won the citizens to his side; when Cope landed at Dunbar Charles marched out of the city to meet him, and by the onset of his Highlanders put the Royalist forces to flight at Prestonpans. But, though master of most of Scotland, the prince had so far received no help from the Jacobites in England, and as the expected aid had not arrived from France, his council opposed the idea of marching south. However, the prince gained his point, although the government had three armies in the field—one in Northumberland, another in the Midlands, and a third near London. Carlisle yielded without opposition, Manchester received the prince with enthusiasm, and Derby was reached in December. This was the turning-point of the adventure. London heard of the invasion with dismay, but in the absence of any considerable English reinforcements the prince's council refused to advance farther with their small army of four or five thousand men.

In his retreat Charles found that the council was right; the towns where he had been received enthusiastically on his march south now harassed his rearguard. On the day after Christmas he entered Glasgow, and immediately marched against Stirling. At Falkirk his Highlanders again defeated the Royalist troops under General Hawley, but it was a barren victory, and the retreat was continued. By this time the Duke of Cumberland had been appointed commander-in-chief of the royal forces, and reached Aberdeen by the end of February. Ten days previously Charles had occupied Inverness. During the whole of March Cumberland waited at Aberdeen for

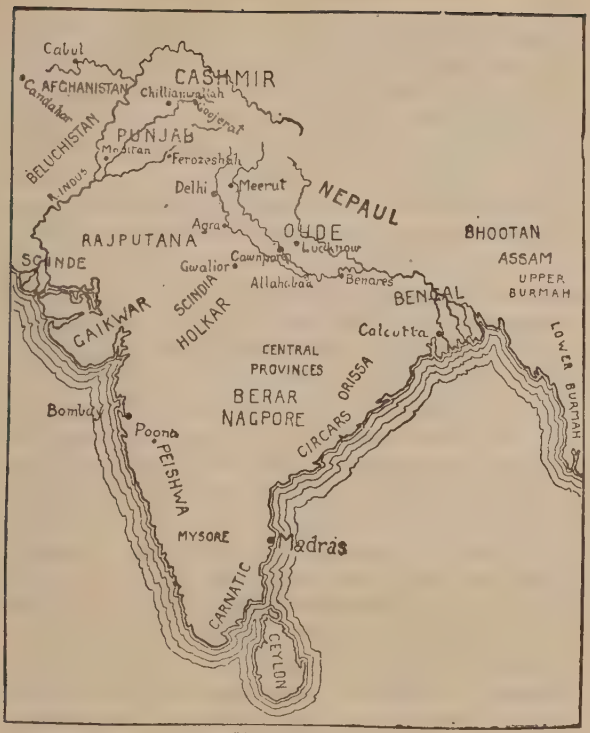
reinforcements. At the beginning of April he marched against Inverness; the two armies, not unequal in point of numbers, met on the 16th on Culloden Moor, where the Jacobites were utterly defeated. The victors showed no mercy, and the rebellion was cruelly stamped out. Charles, after wandering in the Highlands for five months, succeeded in escaping to France, while of his followers the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty and Lords Balmerino and Lovat were executed, and of the rank and file some were hanged and others transported. In the Highlands the old feudal clan system was broken up, and a warlike population was gradually introduced to the arts of industry and peace.

The Methodists.—Henry Pelham's administration was useful, if rather unpretentious; of its social reforms, many of which were important and lasting, the most famous is the adoption of the New Style, whereby the Gregorian was substituted for the Julian Calendar, necessitating the omission of eleven days after September 2, 1752; but this was not accomplished without raising an outcry that honest men had been defrauded of so much precious time. This is a convenient place too to recall the social and religious work of John Wesley, who, shortly after taking his degree and being ordained, became, about 1730, the leader of a small body of Oxford men nicknamed "Methodists" from their pious and regular conduct. In 1735, with his brother Charles and some other friends, Wesley went on a mission to Georgia, but returned in less than two years and began field-preaching at Bristol in imitation of George Whitefield. In 1738 he began to organise a special evangelical

body of lay preachers, whose preachings were to help, but not to take the place of, church services. From the very first he instituted class-meetings, and in these the singing of hymns was a great feature. Wesley was constantly travelling throughout the country on missionary work, and he is said to have preached 40,000 sermons and to have travelled 250,000 miles. Before his death, in 1791, he had succeeded in creating a religious awakening in England at the time when it was most needed, and by setting up an independent body (1784) had stimulated the Church itself into renewed activity.

In 1754 Henry Pelham died. His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, the nominal head of the ministry, decided to pass over Henry Fox and Pitt, the ablest members of the Commons, and gave the leadership of that House to Sir Thomas Robinson, the negotiator of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Pitt had made himself objectionable to the king by opposing the policy of granting subsidies to German states for the defence of Hanover. He now combined with Fox to make Robinson's leadership impossible; but when Newcastle bought off Fox by giving him first a seat in the Cabinet, and then not only the leadership but the patronage in the Commons, Pitt was isolated and was soon dismissed from office.

India.—Although since 1748 there had been peace in Europe, war was going on in India and America. In India, England and France were struggling for supremacy none the less keenly because they appeared merely as the supporters of rival native princes. Up to 1751 it seemed that France, ably represented by Dupleix, would absorb the whole of the Carnatic, a province



Map of India

Up to 1784 the only considerable territories in English possession were Bengal and Circars; by 1805 these had been joined up, the Carnatic had been won, and the land west of Oude to beyond Delhi annexed; Oude itself, Mysore and the Deccan (S.W. of Berar) were under English protection. By 1834 England was in possession of, or had a protectorate over, nearly the whole peninsula. The Punjab was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1849, and Oude in 1856.

disputed by Mohammed Ali and Chunda Sahib. The former, whom the English supported, had been reduced to the single stronghold of Trichinopoli, and was being besieged by Chunda Sahib, the French candidate. Robert Clive, a young writer in the service of the East India Company, by surprising Arcot (1751) compelled Chunda Sahib to leave Trichinopoli, thus greatly raising British prestige among the natives. Following up his success, he beat the French and their candidate in the following year, and secured the Carnatic for Mohammed Ali. The struggle now was transferred to the Deccan, where Bussy, the able French leader, was the real ruler and the Nizam merely his puppet.

America.—In America the same struggle was going on. France, commanding the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the valley of the Ohio, seemed likely to drive the English into the sea. Their only hope was to cross the Alleghanies and so cut the French settlements in two by interrupting communications between Canada and Louisiana. With this object, in 1754 a fort was founded where Pittsburg now stands; but it was soon demolished by the French, who built Fort Duquesne on the same site. George Washington, sent to attack the new fort, had to capitulate, and retired across the Alleghanies. About the same time General Braddock was sent from England to reduce Fort Duquesne, but when he arrived within a few miles of it he was surprised and his whole force annihilated.

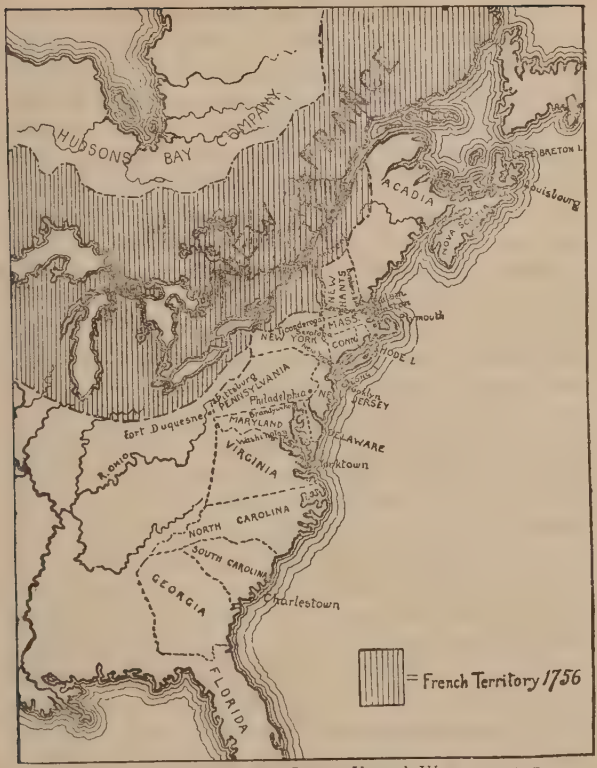
The Seven Years' War.—It was a few months after this that Pitt was dismissed from office (November 1755). War had not yet been declared in Europe, but when early in 1756 Prussia and England concluded an alliance to resist the invasion of Germany by foreign

Powers, and Austria and France concluded another, war could not long be delayed. It was declared in May, and opened badly for England by the loss of Minorca, which Admiral Byng had been ordered to defend. To save himself, Newcastle sacrificed Byng, who was court-martialled and shot. This reverse, coupled with the bad news from America, led to the resignation of Newcastle and his ministry. He was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire, but the real head of the government was Pitt, whom the king was now forced to accept. However, when the command of the army was offered to the Duke of Cumberland he declined it, unless Pitt was dismissed; but Cumberland was unpopular, and the nation forced Pitt back into office, this time in alliance with Newcastle and Fox (1757).

The War in Europe.—News had just arrived in England of Frederick the Great's defeat at Kolin, and although later in the year he defeated the French at Rossbach and the Austrians at Leuthen, his successes hardly retrieved in English eyes the defeat of the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbach—followed as it was by the Convention of Klosterseven, by which he undertook to withdraw his troops from the war altogether. Pitt now left the war in Europe to be conducted by Frederick, lavishly supported by English subsidies. In North Germany, Ferdinand of Brunswick drove the French beyond the Rhine and then defeated them at Crefeld; Frederick defeated the Russians at Lorndorf, but was himself beaten at Hochkirchen. In 1759, in Europe as elsewhere, success fell to England and her allies; on land, Ferdinand, with English and Hanoverian troops, won a decisive victory over the

French army at Minden, while at sea Boscawen and Hawke destroyed two French fleets, the former off Lagos and the latter in Quiberon Bay.

The War in America.—It was in America, rather than in Europe, that Pitt's ministry hoped to win the war. Energetic young officers, among them Colonel Wolfe, were put in command, and in 1758, by the capture of Fort Duquesne, the valley of the Ohio, and thereby the possibility of expansion westwards, were secured to the British colonists. Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, was also taken, and thus Canada lay open to attack by way of the St. Lawrence. Had a third expedition under Abercrombie succeeded in taking Ticonderoga, Canada, thus attacked from north and south simultaneously, would have fallen to England that year. As it was, the same dispositions were made for 1759; Wolfe was to proceed by way of Quebec, and Amherst by way of Ticonderoga; but as it fell out, Quebec was captured and Canada really secured while Amherst was still delayed in the south. Montcalm, the French commander at Quebec, had 15,000 men and an almost impregnable position; the English fleet, anchored a little farther down the river, carried 9000 troops. All Montcalm had to do, it seemed, was to wait till the autumn rains and the severe Canadian winter drove the English away. Wolfe, however, in the early morning of September 13 moved with his main body to a point on the river where the cliffs rose steeply to the Heights of Abraham on which Quebec was perched; he had scaled the Heights and drawn up his line before the French knew that their picket had been surprised. In the battle that ensued the English were victorious, but Wolfe was



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR AND THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

[Notice that the real point at issue in America before the Seven Years' War was whether the French were to hold the valley of the Ohio and so practically drive the English into the sea.]

killed. The capture of Montreal by Amherst in 1760 completed the conquest of Canada.

The War in India.—When Clive returned to India in 1756 he was met by the news that Surajah Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, had captured Calcutta and imprisoned the English residents—a hundred and forty-six in all, including one woman—in a room so small that next morning only twenty-three came out alive. To avenge this atrocity Clive sailed from Madras, and after recovering Calcutta forced his terms upon the nawab. At this moment came the news that England and France were at war, and therefore Clive reduced Chandernagore, the French settlement on the Hoogly, in order to prevent any attack on Calcutta. The nawab took alarm and marched off to Plassey, some seventy miles to the north. Clive, although he had only 800 British troops and 2000 sepoys to oppose to Surajah Dowlah's 50,000, pursued and defeated him (June 23, 1757). The result of the victory was to establish British supremacy in Bengal. For a moment, however, French influence in India seemed to revive when, during the absence of the fleet, Count Lally encamped before Madras at the end of 1758; but the return of the fleet saved the town, and thus restored English prestige in the Carnatic, which was finally secured by Sir Eyre Coote's victory over Lally in 1760 at Wandiwash. The Nizam of the Deccan had already entered into an alliance with Clive, and had transferred a territory of 17,000 square miles — the Northern Circars—from the French to the English East India Company. When Pondicherry surrendered to Coote in 1761, French power in India was at an end.

But in the preceding October, when news of victory was coming in from all quarters, the death of the king gave a new turn to the course of the war.

CHAPTER XXI

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION: GEORGE III. (1760–1820)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

1763. Peace of Paris.
1765. American Stamp Act.
1775. American War Begins.
1777. Saratoga.
1781. Yorktown.
1783. Recognition of American Independence.

George's Idea of Kingship.—George III. was the son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who, chiefly in order to embarrass his father, had favoured the Tory opposition. Tory views of government were reflected at that time in Bolingbroke's "Idea of a Patriot King," which laid down the theory that a good king was one who ruled his people for their own good in his own way, unhampered by the control of a party system. The Princess of Wales had carefully instilled these ideas into the mind of her son, and the young king was eager to act upon them. The speech from the throne at the opening of George's first Parliament declared the expediency of concluding the war by an honourable peace. Pitt, on the other hand, soon got to know that France had entered into a new family compact with Spain, and therefore proposed that war should be declared with the latter country at once. His advice was rejected and he resigned; but his information was soon proved to be accurate, and war was declared with Spain at the end of 1761.

The Peace of Paris.—The Earl of Bute, now the real head of the ministry, although intent upon stopping

the war and determined not to give any more subsidies to Frederick the Great, found that the fleet had been so well organised by Pitt that Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Havana, Manila, and the Philippines were all captured within a year by Rodney and other English admirals.

These victories helped Bute to make peace, and although the terms were not thought favourable enough in England, the Peace of Paris (1763) set the seal upon this country's destiny as the great colonising and imperial Power. At first, of course, in the spirit of that age, Englishmen only saw in the expansion of the colonies a monopoly of boundless wealth for themselves, and it required the revolt of North America to make them realise fully their responsibilities and to teach them a saner view of imperialism. The chief possessions secured by England in the Peace of Paris were Canada, several islands in the West Indies, Senegal in Africa, and Minorca; while in India France had to restore all conquests made since 1749 and to be content with the factories she had then held.

The "North Briton."—Bute's triumph was not long-lived; the peace was anything but popular, and the ministry resigned very soon after it was concluded, giving place to one headed by Pitt's brother-in-law, George Grenville. One of the new government's first actions was to prosecute John Wilkes, a member of Parliament, who in his journal the *North Briton* had criticised the terms of the peace. Wilkes was arrested on a general warrant (one not made out against any named person) on a charge of seditious libel. The arrest was quashed by the Chief Justice on the ground that general warrants were illegal, and that Wilkes, as

a member of Parliament, was privileged ; but the government was strong enough to pass a resolution in the Commons that the article complained of was a seditious libel, that Parliamentary privilege did not cover such an offence, and that Wilkes should be expelled from the House. The chief result was that Wilkes became a popular hero, and in 1768 he was returned to Parliament four times by the county of Middlesex, although he was not allowed to take his seat.

The American Colonies.—In 1765 the first step was taken in the unwise statesmanship which resulted in the independence of the American colonies. These colonies had very different origins and traditions : the northern, or New England, group had been founded by Puritans ; in the extreme south—Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia—there was a slave-owning aristocracy ; while in the centre there were the remains of the old Dutch settlements conquered in the reign of Charles II., and even a distinctly Roman Catholic colony like Maryland. Their government varied too, but on the whole was based upon the British model, and they all largely enjoyed personal and political freedom. One other characteristic they had in common—their jealousy of each other. As far as the home authorities were concerned, their treatment was neither harsh nor illiberal in comparison with other colony-possessing Powers ; any restriction simposed upon them arose from the right, taken as a matter of course at that time, of the Mother Country to regulate their trade to her own advantage. The colonists were compelled to accept imports, including the most necessary commodities, only from England ; that they should manufacture for themselves articles manufac-

tured in England was considered out of the question. The reason for their long acquiescence is no doubt to be found in the fact that the home government was not very strict in enforcing its own regulations; at any rate smuggling was exceedingly common, and a very large, though illegal, trade was thus being carried on with the French and Spanish West Indies. Nor must it be forgotten that the colonists had the monopoly of the English markets for their exports.

The Stamp Act.—The Seven Years' War had been concerned largely with the interests of the colonists; especially it had freed them from the constant dread of French attack. But France might at any moment try to regain her footing, and it seemed only fair that the colonies should be asked to contribute to their own defence. Grenville therefore proposed that America should maintain a force of 10,000 men, to be partly paid for by a stamp tax on legal documents. In England the Act passed almost unnoticed, but in America it brought to a head the discontent caused by recent attempts to put down smuggling. The stamps were seized and the courts were closed till the lawyers decided to disregard the Act altogether; merchants refused to import, and other citizens to use, goods from England. The cry was raised that taxation without representation was tyranny; port dues, it was contended, were tolerable as an external charge, but the Stamp Act, as an internal tax, must be resisted. The contention was illogical, but logic is not always the best test of government.

The trouble with America gave the king one more excuse for getting rid of his ministers; Grenville was replaced by the Marquis of Rockingham, an honour-

able but rather incapable Whig, who was regarded by George III. merely as a degree less unpleasant than his predecessor. The court faction, now organised as a party under the name of the "king's friends," did not hesitate to intrigue against the new ministry. Pitt stood aloof—he was as opposed to government by party as George himself—but supported Rockingham and his secretary, Edmund Burke, in repealing the Stamp Act. The declaration of Parliament's right to tax the colonies, which accompanied the repeal, kept suspicion alive in America.

The ministry, attacked on its general policy by Pitt and disliked by the king, soon fell; its place was taken by one formed by Pitt himself, now created Earl of Chatham. But bad health prevented him from taking any active part in politics, and he resigned in 1768, but not before George Townshend, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, had created fresh trouble with America by imposing import duties on glass, paper, paints, and tea (1767). The revenue expected from the new source was trifling; it was earmarked for use in America, and the colonies had accepted the principle of external taxation. But political principles are never fixed, and the colonists now demanded that if they were to be taxed they should be taxed by their own Assemblies. When Townshend died shortly afterwards, Lord North, a Tory and a "king's friend," was appointed his successor, and by the time Chatham sent in his resignation his ministry was composed almost entirely of Tories, and was now to be presided over by the Duke of Grafton.

The Industrial Revolution.—The new government was in difficulties from the first. Their refusal to allow

Wilkes to take his seat for Middlesex was only one instance of their collision with popular opinion. They were soon involved in an attempt to keep Parliamentary proceedings secret; but the liberty of reporting was secured in 1771. Their whole conduct was unmercifully criticised in the Letters of "Junius," who has usually been identified with Sir Philip Francis. But while politics were thus degenerating into faction and invective, the country was undergoing a vast change. At the beginning of the reign England was still mainly an agricultural country; its few manufactures—of which cloth was the most important—were often carried on in quite small villages. Then a series of mechanical inventions gave a great impetus to manufacture. Hargreaves had invented the spinning-jenny, and many other labour-saving devices had been discovered before James Watt applied the steam-engine to industrial purposes in 1765. Cotton and hosiery were the first trades to benefit from this new use of steam; Nottingham and the towns of Lancashire became great workshops.

But this was only the beginning of an industrial revolution which was to change England from being mainly an agricultural into a great manufacturing country. Increased output was of little use without improved means of transit. Roads were improved and canals were built; of the latter, Brindley's canal between Manchester and Liverpool was opened in 1767. A natural outcome of the new conditions was that the workers no longer congregated in little villages or worked in their own homes, but crowded together in huge cities and worked in factories. As manufactures developed there was an increasing influx of people from

the country into the towns; at the same time, owing partly to the enclosure of common land by the great landowners, those who remained in the country became poorer and poorer. Of course the Industrial Revolution took a long time to complete itself, and assumed different forms in different parts of the country; but its general result was to transform English society by preparing the way for the transference of political power from the landed to the manufacturing classes.

The Boston Tea Party.—The American duties had met with such opposition that with one slight exception they were withdrawn by Grafton's ministry. The exception was a small duty of threepence a pound on tea, which was retained as a sign of right. Even with the duty Americans could buy their tea cheaper than Englishmen, because the shilling duty paid in England was returned on re-exportation to America. But the principle still remained: the king and the English people were determined to assert the right of taxation and the authority of Parliament; the colonists were equally determined to resist them. For nearly three years there was continual friction between the authorities and the colonists, but in 1773 a riot at Boston led to more serious developments. A number of men disguised as Indians boarded some tea-ships in Boston harbour and emptied their cargo, valued at £18,000, into the sea. The government, now headed by Lord North, carried out the king's wishes by making Salem the capital of the province and closing Boston harbour; at the same time the charter of Massachusetts was altered in such a way as to give more power to the Governor and the Crown.

The colonists were now thoroughly roused; a congress held at Philadephia of all the colonies except Georgia denied the English right of taxation, and decided to break off commercial dealings with this country (1774). This decision was certainly not approved by all the colonists, as was seen later when 20,000 loyalists joined the British army. At last, after the congress, Lord North passed a resolution compromising difficulties by offering America self-taxation, while maintaining Parliamentary authority. It was too late, because at that very moment the colonists were preparing for war. Hostilities began in the spring of 1775 with a skirmish at Lexington between the royal troops under General Gage and the American militiamen. The immediate result was another congress at Philadelphia, which rejected Lord North's proposals and appointed George Washington as commander-in-chief of the army it proceeded to organise.

War with America.—The first engagement, the Battle of Bunker's Hill, was a decisive victory for General Gage; it enabled him to hold Boston for nearly a year, but it also convinced him that the war would not prove such an easy matter as most people in England believed. On the other hand, Washington had a difficult task before him; his troops were irregular volunteers, unused to the restraints of discipline and divided by local jealousies. Luckily he was a born organiser, and by strength of will succeeded not only in keeping his men together, but in dominating the irresponsible committees of Congress. He was greatly helped by the dilatoriness of General Gage and his successor, General Howe, who thought

the troops under their command too few to risk any very active measures. As a matter of fact the standing army was so small that the home government had to buy soldiers from the petty princes of Germany, a measure unpopular enough in England, but regarded in America as a good pretext for publishing the Declaration of Independence (1776). Earlier in the year the British had evacuated Boston, and the struggle now centred on the possession of New York; when General Howe was joined by his brother, Lord Howe, and the fleet, Washington had to retire, and the town was occupied by the English.

Washington, with a dispirited, ill-fed, and almost mutinous army, retreated into Pennsylvania, while Howe, instead of attacking him or marching on Philadelphia, went into winter quarters. Recrossing the Delaware on Christmas Day, Washington cut off a German outpost at Trenton in a night attack, and shortly afterwards captured three British regiments at Princetown; but his defeat at Brandywine Creek enabled Howe to occupy Philadelphia. Washington passed the winter in camp at Valley Forge; his army totalled less than three thousand men, and was almost destitute of food and other supplies.

Elsewhere the colonists were more successful. Certainly their scheme for the invasion of Canada had come to nothing, and General Burgoyne, after expelling them from Ticonderoga, had decided to join forces with Clinton, who was on his way from New York. But when he crossed the Hudson River he found himself cut off by a superior force; there was nothing for it but to surrender with his whole army to General Gates at Saratoga (1777).

French Intervention.—Burgoyne's surrender was the turning-point of the war, for it decided the success of Franklin's embassy to France for help against England. The French government hesitated no longer; it made an alliance with the United States of America, whose independence it recognised. War between England and France was at once declared; Spain and the United Netherlands soon joined France; Frederick the Great persuaded Russia and the Baltic Powers to form an "Armed Neutrality" directed against the British claims to search the vessels of neutral countries.

The intervention of France led to a curious situation in England. Chatham proposed peace with America on any terms short of independence in order to concentrate all our strength against the foreign enemy; the Rockingham party suggested that the best policy was to prevent the Franco-American alliance by acknowledging American independence; Lord North passed an Act to repeal the tea duty, and to send commissioners to America with power to make any concessions except independence. The commissioners were sent, but Congress refused to listen to them. The fact was that the king and the majority of the English nation were in favour of continuing the war. Chatham, who, if the king had let him form a new ministry, might have found a way out, died in the act of protesting against "the dismemberment of this ancient and most glorious monarchy."

The Deciding Factor.—The American war was decided by sea-power; as soon as England lost the command of the sea American independence was assured. The rival fleets, in the summer of 1781,

were watching one another in the West Indies. De Grasse, the French admiral, had the larger number of ships. So long as the English squadron in the north was strong enough to protect him, Clinton at New York could communicate by sea with Cornwallis at Yorktown; but when De Grasse eluded Admiral Hood and broke through, Cornwallis was isolated and had to surrender to Washington, who was attacking him on the land side. New York was now the only English foothold, and while the enemy was superior at sea no reinforcements could come in. The war, therefore, now resolved itself into a naval struggle between the allies of France and England. Minorca fell early in 1782, and Gibraltar was being hard pressed. In her desperate straits Rodney once more made England mistress of the seas by the Victory of the Saints (1782). After the fall of Yorktown, Hood and De Grasse had both sailed away again to the West Indies; the latter was expecting the Spanish fleet, and sailed from Martinique to meet it. But Rodney, who had now joined Hood, went off in pursuit, to engage, and if possible defeat, him before he could reach the Spaniards. He was entirely successful, and England had once more command of the sea. When towards the end of the same year Howe relieved Gibraltar, the Allies and England, where Rockingham was now Prime Minister, were glad enough to consider proposals for peace; it was signed at Versailles in 1783, and arranged for the recognition of American independence and the restoration of most conquests by both sides. Minorca, however, was retained by Spain, and Pondicherry was restored to France.

WILLIAM PITT AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1784. Pitt's India Bill.
1788. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
1789. Beginning of the French Revolution.
1793. Execution of Louis XVI. Pitt's First Coalition against France.
1797. Battles of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown.
1798. Battle of the Nile.
1799. Pitt's Second Coalition.
1801. Resignation of Pitt.
1802. Treaty of Amiens.

India under Warren Hastings.—The surrender of Pondicherry to Coote in 1761 had marked the fall of French influence in India; but there were still warlike native tribes to contend with in the north, and all kinds of administrative difficulties in the south. Clive had reformed the service of the East India Company, but when he returned to England all the old abuses cropped up again; officials intent on making a fortune had no scruples in extorting all they could from the oppressed natives of Bengal. In 1773 Lord North had passed a Regulation of India Act, creating a Supreme Council of five members, and appointing Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal, as the first Governor-General of India. By the Act the Governor-General was controlled by his council, and Hasting's council opposed him in every detail of his policy. The Act had not abolished the East India Company, whose directors though no longer responsible for the government of the country, still clamoured for dividends. The majority of the council regarded themselves as the representatives of the government as opposed to the directors, and looked upon Hastings as an oppressor only intent on sending home wealth wrung from the natives. Thus they opposed his alliance with the Nawab of Oude, and denounced the employment of English

soldiers against the Rohillas, with whom the nawab was at war. As a matter of fact the alliance secured Bengal from being invaded by the Mahrattas, a sturdy people of the Western Deccan.

After four or five years of continual friction Hastings got the mastery in his council; he first asserted himself by prosecuting one of his opponents' native agents, Nuncomar, who was tried and hanged; then the opportune death of one of the members gave him a casting vote. Discovering that the Mahrattas had been intriguing with the French, he marched against them, and after a two years' war compelled them to sue for peace. At the same moment (1780) Hyder Ali of Mysore, also an ally of the French, invaded the Carnatic, but was defeated at Porto Novo. These wars had been expensive, and to pay for them Hastings did not hesitate to bring pressure upon the native princes; especially he extorted large sums from the Princesses of Oude, the mother and widow of the late nawab, on the ground that the new nawab had not paid the troops lent him to conquer his enemies.

Hastings, by breaking the power of the native princes and organising the government and revenue, undoubtedly secured India permanently for England. But many of his actions were harsh, and Burke and the Whigs moved for his impeachment when he returned to England in 1785; the trial lasted for eight years and ended in his acquittal. While he was still in India the whole system of government was altered; in 1783 Fox proposed to transfer the authority of the Company to the Crown, but his Bill, though it passed the Commons, was, owing to the king's influence, rejected by the Lords. Fox's Bill had one fatal defect:

the commissioners who were to govern India from London were practically irremovable for four years; and as they were to be appointed by Parliament, they would, for the first time at any rate, be Whigs. Indian patronage was one of the most valued supports of a ministry; in a word, Fox's Bill would have made the Whigs too powerful. The king let it be known that those peers who voted for the India Bill would be considered as his personal enemies. Its rejection was followed immediately by the fall of the ministry.

Pitt Prime Minister.—The king now persuaded Chatham's son, William Pitt, to accept office. He was constantly defeated by the opposition under Fox; but the new Parliament gave him a majority, and he at once brought in an India Bill. By it the Company retained most of its patronage, while a Board of Control, appointed by the government, supervised its political side—an arrangement which lasted till 1858.

Ireland and Legislative Independence.—When Yorktown fell Lord North resigned office, and was succeeded by a coalition formed of the Rockingham Whigs and the followers of Chatham. Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke were both in the new ministry, although the latter, probably on account of his want of social influence, remained outside the Cabinet. The troubles in America had not failed to react on Ireland, which, indeed, suffered from much the same commercial hardships and restrictions as had provoked the colonists. The war with America aggravated these hardships, for it ruined the Irish linen trade by closing its principal market and cut off the growing commercial connection with France. The great distress in Ireland compelled North's government to

relax the restrictions; unfortunately the relief was given in a niggardly spirit and did little to conciliate Ireland. But common grievances helped to soften religious hatred, and a small beginning was made by the Irish Parliament in alleviating the worst disabilities of the Catholics.

During the war there was fear of a French invasion, and the government had to give arms to 40,000 volunteers, Catholics as well as Protestants. The volunteers had proved their loyalty; they now demanded their reward, and Lord North had to remove entirely all restrictions on Irish trade. Their victory made Irishmen more exacting; in 1780 Grattan proposed in the Irish Parliament, but was unable to carry, a declaration of legislative independence. Meanwhile the volunteers were still under arms, and in 1782, when America had practically won her cause, they made the same demand as Grattan. The Irish Parliament soon supported them. Rockingham's government gave way, and Ireland thus became almost an independent state.

The Gordon Riots.—While Grattan was working on behalf of the Catholics in Ireland, their grievances were being considered in England. In 1778 a Bill was passed allowing English Catholics under certain conditions to become landowners, and freeing Catholic priests from danger of imprisonment. The same measure would have been extended to Scotland but for violent Protestant riots. This fanaticism, in its turn, reacted on England, where in 1780 an agitation was set on foot by Lord George Gordon, a crazy member of Parliament, for the repeal of the Act recently passed. The "No Popery!" cry led to the sacking of Catholic

chapels belonging to the foreign embassies, and the timidity of the government encouraged the mob to loot the houses of those who were in favour of toleration. For four days London was at the mercy of the rioters, prisons were broken open and the Bank of England was attacked. At last the king himself ordered the military to act, and quiet was at once restored. Seventy-two houses and four gaols had been destroyed; more than three hundred persons had been killed. Lord George Gordon was acquitted, but twenty-one rioters were hanged.

Pitt and the Regency.—In 1789 the king's mind gave way and Pitt's government found itself in a difficult position. The ministry recognised as clearly as the opposition that the Prince of Wales had the best claim to the regency; however, while Fox maintained that the prince's right was not subject to Parliamentary interference, Pitt not only held that Parliament had the sole right to appoint, but carried a Bill which conferred the regency upon the Prince of Wales with definite restrictions of his powers. The prince was a friend of Fox and a partisan of the opposition. Pitt retained office only by the timely recovery of the king.

The French Revolution.—In the same year Europe was startled by the outbreak of the French Revolution. Ruinous wars and careless finance had driven France into bankruptcy; a burden too heavy even for the whole nation to bear was quite intolerable when the aristocracy and clergy were exempt from their share. The States-General, summoned by Louis XVI.—they had not met since 1614—to consider the situation, resolved themselves into a National Assembly and began to question the whole system of government.

Quarrels between the different orders—nobles, clergy, and commons—had their effect on the Paris mob, which, putting into crude practice the teaching of philosophers like Voltaire and Rousseau, clamoured for the reconstitution of society on the basis of equality. The storming of the Bastille, the great state prison—the symbol of despotism—was the first act of revolutionary violence, which soon spread throughout the country; everywhere the aristocracy were attacked and their privileges, with those of the clergy, abolished. It was the fall of feudalism in France. The success of the American colonists had made a deep impression on Frenchmen; Lafayette and other volunteers returned home with a great admiration for the new Republic. That the prestige of monarchy had suffered was seen when the Paris mob marched on Versailles and compelled Louis XVI. and his queen, Marie Antoinette, to accompany it as virtual prisoners to the Tuileries.

Effect of the French Revolution on England.—The reception of the French Revolution in England was at first generally sympathetic. Pitt was in favour of letting France work out her own salvation in her own way; Fox and most of the Whigs were loud in approval; professed democrats and republicans like Tom Paine hailed the new movement with delight; clubs and societies sprang up in many large towns, "avowedly affiliated to the democratic clubs in France"; in Birmingham and Sheffield there was a certain amount of rioting. But one statesman, Edmund Burke, denounced the Revolution from the first. To him it was not a revolution at all, in the sense of the term familiar to Englishmen from their

own experience of 1688; it was, he maintained in his "Reflections on the French Revolution," not a remodelling of the constitution but a mere outbreak of anarchy, to be repressed by all possible means. When in 1791 the National Assembly was succeeded by the Legislative Assembly, which declared war on Prussia and Austria for supporting the exiled French aristocrats, Burke's denunciation began to tell; when in 1793 Louis XVI. was sent to the guillotine, English goodwill was almost entirely alienated.

War with France.—But war between France and England came about not because of a difference of opinion as to methods of government, but because the French Republic, after defeating the Prussians and overrunning the Austrian Netherlands, had thrown open the Scheldt to international commerce in defiance of treaties which secured it for the Dutch. England was a party to these treaties, and was bound to uphold them against French aggrandisement. Her own existence too was at stake. That the Republic was stirring up sedition in this country was not made a pretext for war, although it led the government to unnecessarily harsh measures against agitators at home.

Pitt's First Coalition. — France declared war on England at the beginning of 1793. Pitt at once started to form a coalition, and before the end of the year succeeded in gaining the adhesion of Holland, Spain, Prussia, and Austria. But although attacked by this formidable array of powers from without, and handicapped by Royalist risings in La Vendée and Brittany, the Republic met with triumphant success. Step by step the Allies were driven back: the Austrians

and Prussians had to retreat beyond the Sambre to the Rhine; the English had to abandon Holland, where in 1795 the French proclaimed a Batavian Republic. Only at sea did France suffer defeat. On the "Glorious First of June" Lord Howe won a great naval victory off Ushant; the Cape of Good Hope—a Dutch colony, but a French possession after their proclamation of the Batavian Republic—was captured; and some islands were taken in the West Indies.

The controlling power in France was now an oligarchy called the Directory. The Convention had disappeared, after an orgy of slaughter known as the "Reign of Terror." Mob rule had been ended by Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican officer of artillery, who had dispersed an attack upon the Tuileries by his famous "whiff of grape-shot." The Directory carried on the war with unabated vigour. While Moreau and Jourdan attacked Germany, Bonaparte himself was put in command of the army of Italy, and proceeded to expel the Austrians from that country. Completely successful in this, he invaded Austria itself, and forced the Emperor to accept the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797).

Effects of the War on England.—Meanwhile the war had brought prosperity and distress to England. Her naval supremacy had increased the volume of trade, but bad harvests had increased the price of bread; starving men blamed the war for their troubles, and for a time there was a violent demand for peace. Famine served as a cloak for sedition, and the government hurriedly carried two unwise and unnecessary measures, enlarging the definition of treason and limiting the freedom of holding public meetings. The

agitation influenced Pitt in making overtures for peace in 1796; but when he was told that France would hold to all her conquests, there was nothing for it but to continue the war. The prospect was not encouraging; England's one remaining ally, Austria, was almost exhausted, and once Austria yielded England would be isolated; a probable invasion might complete her ruin. As a matter of fact General Hoche attempted to invade Ireland in 1796, but his fleet was dispersed by storms. These fears caused a run on the Bank of England, which led the government to suspend cash payments.

Sea-power.—Amid all this depression and gloom came the cheering news of Jervis's great victory over the fleets of France and Spain off Cape St. Vincent (1797). The battle is memorable not only because it raised the courage of the nation in a time of stress and crisis, but also because it destroyed Spain's reputation as a first-class maritime power, and gave Nelson, whose initiative had a large share in the victory, a place in the front rank of British admirals. But the triumph was overclouded by a spirit of disaffection in the navy. The men had some very real grievances; low wages, bad food, incompetent officers, harsh discipline, and the frauds of pursers and contractors provoked a mutiny first at Spithead, and then a more serious one at the Nore (1797). The first was pacified by Lord Howe without much difficulty, but the second had a more political character; its leaders were affected by revolutionary ideas, and threatened to coerce the government. Admiral Duncan was blockading Dutch ports at the time, and many of his men sympathised with the mutineers. However, the government stood firm, and

the Nore fleet surrendered. A few examples were made, the ringleader was hanged, and the trouble passed away. Duncan proved the loyal spirit of the navy before the end of the year by utterly beating the Dutch fleet at Camperdown.

Nelson and Napoleon.—England had been the soul of the First Coalition; deserted by her allies, she had carried on the struggle single-handed. The spirit of aggrandisement which had now seized France recognised in England its chief obstacle; invasion was seen to be difficult, and almost impossible, while the English fleet held the seas, but the conquest of India and the destruction of England's commerce in the East would be a great blow to her supremacy. Bonaparte was the author of this idea, and he sailed away in the early summer of 1798 to attack Malta, reduce Egypt, and gain possession of the Red Sea. Napoleon's own part of the scheme was quite successful; Malta was surrendered, Alexandria captured, the Egyptians were defeated in the Battle of the Pyramids. But the fleet which had carried him to Egypt, and which was now guarding his rear from Aboukir Bay, had at last been located by a pursuing squadron under Nelson. In the Battle of the Nile which ensued, the French fleet was entirely destroyed or taken (1798). Never was a victory more complete or far-reaching, for, as the king's speech said soon afterwards, it frustrated an attack on the most valuable part of our empire, and led other Powers to combine for the general deliverance of Europe. Napoleon, cut off from France, invaded Syria, but, foiled at Acre by Sir Sydney Smith, deserted his army and returned home

Pitt's Second Coalition.—When Napoleon arrived at Paris Pitt had already succeeded in forming a second coalition with Austria and Russia (1799). The Directory had lately experienced defeat at the hands of the Austrians, and was meeting with the greatest difficulty at home; heavy taxes, royalist risings, and general brigandage brought unpopularity and embarrassment to the government. Napoleon had little difficulty in overthrowing it and in having himself nominated as First Consul for ten years. He soon turned defeat into victory. In the summer of 1800 he annihilated the Austrians at Marengo, and towards the end of the year Moreau defeated them again at Hohenlinden. The Emperor was glad to make peace two months later at Lunéville. The coalition had already been broken up when the Tsar withdrew at the close of 1799 out of jealousy of Austria; but after Lunéville he formed an Armed Neutrality with Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia against England's claim to search neutral ships. England's supremacy at sea had led her to restrict the trade of neutral countries with France, while she encouraged and derived great profit from their trade with herself. To retain the trade of Europe in her own hands, she determined to break up the Armed Neutrality. A fleet under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second in command, was sent to the Baltic. The defences to the south of Copenhagen, consisting of blockships and floating batteries, were destroyed, Nelson, in the thick of the engagement, affecting not to see the signal for his recall. The threat of bombarding the town brought the Danes to accept a truce. With the opportune death of the Tsar and the

withdrawal of the Swedes, the Armed Neutrality came to an end.

Peace of Amiens.—All the countries of Europe were thoroughly exhausted, and in 1802 a peace was signed at Amiens, by which France retained her European conquests, except Naples, and England gave up all hers everywhere, except Trinidad and Ceylon, while she undertook to restore Malta to the Knights if the Great Powers guaranteed them in its possession. It was the curious experience of England that while her collective wealth had nearly doubled during the war, the poor had become poorer. Manufactures flourished, but the import of foreign, and especially of Russian, corn was of course restricted; bad harvests at home caused famine prices and bread riots.

Ireland and the War.—When the Peace of Amiens was signed—truce would be a better word, for Napoleon was not likely to stop the course of French aggrandisement—Pitt was no longer in office. To understand the reasons for his resignation we must go back and describe the effect of the war on Ireland.

The grant of legislative independence had not united the nation as was expected; the Catholics, who had had a large share in the victory and outnumbered the Protestants by twelve to one, were still excluded from Parliament. The Protestant minority's determination to keep all power to itself had reawakened the religious feuds; Catholic "Defenders" and Protestant "Peep-o'-Day Boys" were practically at war. But the success of the French Revolution put new heart into the opposition; one more attempt was made to unite Irishmen in a national movement against a government which was scandalously corrupt

and ready to vote exactly as English bribery and English interests demanded. In 1791 Wolfe Tone, a Protestant lawyer, founded the society of "The United Irishmen" with the definite object of breaking away from England altogether. This society, which included Protestants and Catholics among its members, corresponded with the revolutionary leaders in France in the same way as did similar societies in England. Alarmed by Tone's success, Pitt, although himself in favour of complete union with Ireland, persuaded the Irish Parliament to grant the Catholics the suffrage, while still excluding them from Parliament and office. Grattan was opposed to the revolutionary movement, and he and his supporters—most of the Protestant and many of the Catholic gentry—hailed with satisfaction and hope the appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam as Lord Lieutenant (1795). But the English party in Ireland was too strong for any removal of Catholic disabilities by constitutional means; within two months Fitzwilliam was recalled, to the great disappointment of all Irish patriots.

His withdrawal was followed by the outbreak of religious war in Armagh; a Catholic victory led to the foundation of the Orange Society by the Protestants; armed mobs fought with hardly any interference from the government. The United Irishmen now sent Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald to ask for French help. The unsuccessful expedition of General Hoche, sent by the Directory in 1796, has been already referred to; all we need say here is that had he landed he would have found very little support; Ireland as a whole remained loyal. But in the following year the government was confronted by a conspiracy in Ulster,

purely political and chiefly Protestant in its nature, and by a general rising of the Catholic peasantry, almost entirely economic in its origin; yet, as might be expected, the Republicans of Ulster had really very little in common with the small cultivators of Leinster, who were finding the burden of the tithe system intolerable.

The Rebellion of '98.—The energy, and in too many instances the barbarous cruelty, of the government crushed out the conspiracy in Ulster; but the savagery of the repression led to a premature rebellion elsewhere. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was betrayed before the day appointed for the rising (May 23, 1798), and the rebels were almost without leaders. It was a struggle in which both sides resorted to sheer barbarism; no quarter was given. Wexford was occupied by the rebels, who had their headquarters at Vinegar Hill. The rebellion had now resolved itself into a religious war, and although its nominal leader was Bagenal Harvey, a Protestant, the real power was in the hands of the priests. An attack on New Ross was repulsed with heavy loss; a further defeat at Arklow decided the issue of the rebellion. Catholic excesses in Leinster had alienated the Protestant Republicans of Ulster, and that province, already disarmed, gave no help to the rebels. So far the Irish government had received no help from England, but after Arklow General Lake was reinforced by English troops; with these he finally defeated the rebels at Vinegar Hill and stamped out all resistance with fearful severity. When all was over the long-expected help arrived from France; General Humbert landed in Killala Bay with about a thousand men. Reinforced by the Irish, he attacked a

superior force of 5000 men at Castlebar and utterly routed it; but when Lake met him with overwhelming numbers at Ballinamuck he had to surrender.

The Act of Union.—The danger to which the empire had been exposed by the rebellion persuaded Pitt to press for a real Union with Ireland. The chief obstacle was the Irish Parliament, which was not likely to vote for its own destruction; but by lavish bribery its opposition was at last bought off, and in 1800 the Act of Union was passed. Four Irish bishops and twenty-eight elective Irish peers were given seats in the House of Lords, and a hundred Irish members were returned to the British House of Commons; commercial equality with England was ratified for Ireland; and the Established Church of Ireland was declared one with the Church of England.

That the Irish Catholics did not prevent the Union was due to the fact that they were led to believe that it would be followed immediately by Catholic emancipation. Pitt certainly supported their claims and proposed to his Cabinet a measure for relieving them from their disabilities. But the king had persuaded himself that such a measure would violate his coronation oath, and therefore absolutely refused to consider it. Pitt had no option but to resign, and thus the Peace of Amiens was concluded during the premiership of his successor, Addington.

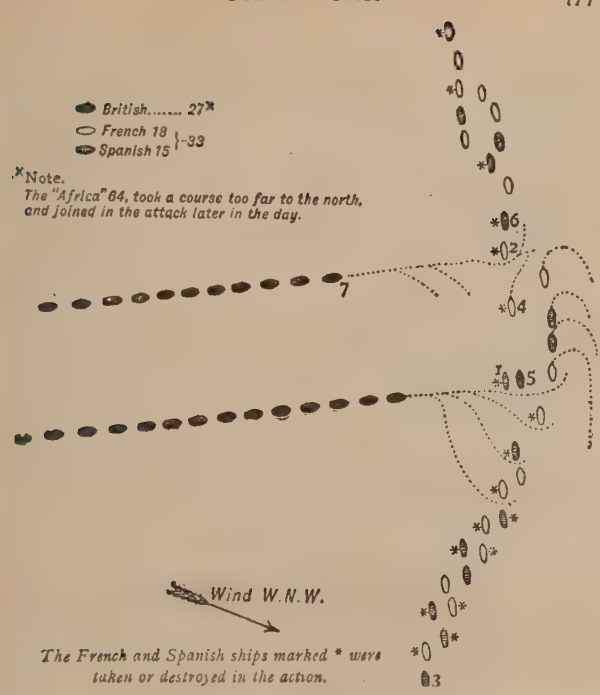
ENGLAND, THE SAVIOUR OF EUROPE

1805. Pitt's Third Coalition. Trafalgar.
1806. Berlin Decrees.
1808. Beginning of Peninsular War.
1813. Battle of Leipzig.
1815. Waterloo.

Napoleon and the Invasion of England.—As Napoleon considered it no violation of the peace to annex fresh territory on the Continent, Addington's ministry thought it justifiable to refuse to evacuate Malta, especially as the conditions guaranteeing its independence had fallen through. Also a demand that the English government should prevent French emigrants from libelling Napoleon in newspapers published in England was not acceded to and added to the growing friction. The war broke out again in 1803. Napoleon's aim was to invade England, and for this purpose he concentrated a large army and a fleet of flat-bottomed boats at Boulogne. But his plan was hopeless so long as the English fleet held the Channel. The English government recognised this as clearly as Napoleon; so while martello-towers were built along the coast and volunteers were raised, Brest and Toulon were rigorously blockaded to prevent the French fleets in them from coming out to clear the Channel and cover Napoleon's crossing. Cornwallis blockaded Brest; for two years past Nelson had been ceaselessly watching Toulon. When Pitt returned to office in 1804, having come to the conclusion that Ireland's grievance must give way to England's danger, his first act was to create a new coalition, comprising Russia, Austria, and Sweden, with the result that Napoleon, foiled in his invasion of England by the blockade of his fleets, decided to attack his Continental enemies.

But in the spring of 1805, while Napoleon was still at Boulogne, Admiral Villeneuve got away from Toulon and sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar before Nelson knew that he had escaped. Off Cadiz he had been joined by the Spanish fleet, and ostensibly he was going to attack the English possessions in the West Indies; really he wanted to draw Nelson in pursuit, elude him in the Atlantic, and return to attack Cornwallis, thus giving the Brest fleet a chance to come out; the two fleets could then command the Channel long enough to cover Napoleon's crossing. Nelson certainly did start off in pursuit, although he was delayed a month by contrary winds; when Villeneuve doubled back, Nelson doubled too. Off Finisterre Villeneuve was engaged by Calder, and had to seek shelter in Vigo Bay; by the time Nelson returned, largely reinforced by Collingwood, he had put into Cadiz. Things were exactly as they had been two years before, only that Nelson was blockading Cadiz instead of Toulon; Cornwallis was still watching Brest.

Trafalgar.—Napoleon, as we have seen, had already decided to abandon his plan for invasion and to attack Austria. He had recently become Emperor of the French, and now sent positive orders to Villeneuve to leave Cadiz and engage the enemy. On October 21, 1805, the day after Napoleon had forced the Austrians to capitulate at Ulm, in Bavaria, the French and British fleets met off Cape Trafalgar. Villeneuve had almost as many Spanish ships as French, thirty-three in all; they were sailing in a long huddled arc across the English bows. Nelson, in two lines, one headed by himself in the *Victory* and the other by Collingwood in


British..... 27*
French 18
Spanish 15
33
*Note.
The "Africa" 64, took a course too far to the north, and joined in the attack later in the day.
Wind W.N.W.
The French and Spanish ships marked * were taken or destroyed in the action.

THE ATTACK AT TRAFAGLAR

October 21, 1805. Five minutes past noon.

(1) *Santa Ana* (Alva's flagship); (2) *Bucentaure* (Villeneuve's flagship); (3) *Principe de Asturias* (Gravina's flagship); (4) *Redoubtable*; (5) *Royal Sovereign* (Collingwood's flagship); (6) *Santissima Trinidad*; (7) *Victory* (Nelson's flagship).

the *Royal Sovereign*, pierced through this arc and so divided the allied fleet into two divisions which could not help one another. A great victory—twenty-two of the enemy's ships were taken or destroyed—was dearly

won, for Nelson fell in the fight. He had achieved his great task; England was unquestioned mistress of the seas. But six weeks later Napoleon's victory over the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz destroyed the coalition and hastened the death of Pitt (January 1806).

The Ministry of All the Talents. — Grenville now formed a government known as the "Ministry of All the Talents"; along with some of Pitt's followers were Whigs like Fox, who had been in opposition since 1783. His office of Foreign Secretary showed Fox that Napoleon's ambition made war inevitable, but he only survived his great rival by eight months. He lived long enough to carry through the House of Commons a resolution against the slave trade, which Wilberforce and Clarkson had been denouncing for years. When after his death the resolution became an Act, the practice of kidnapping negroes from Africa and selling them as slaves in the American and West Indian plantations came to an end.

Napoleon at the Height of Power.—Grenville's ministry had tried to negotiate with Napoleon for peace; meeting with no success, it continued the war, but in so feeble a way and in so many directions at once that there was no really striking or important result. On the other hand, Napoleon was making himself master of Europe. Prussia, which had stood aloof so long, was driven into war and utterly defeated at Jena in 1806; Russia still resisted, hoping in vain for help from England, but in 1807 concluded the Peace of Tilsit, which practically divided the Continent into spheres of French and Russian influence.

The Berlin Decree.—England herself was attacked through her trade. After Jena Napoleon entered

MAP OF EUROPE AS IT APPEARED IN 1810

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Berlin in triumph, and published from it a decree by which the British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade, all trade between France or French allies and England was prohibited, and all English property in France or any allied country was confiscated. This meant that England was shut out from all the markets of Europe, for Napoleon had crushed all opposition. France itself now included Belgium, a large part of Germany, Savoy, and North-West Italy; Napoleon's brothers, Louis, Joseph, and Jerome, were Kings of Holland, Naples, and Westphalia; the German electorates of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg had become his dependent kingdoms; Spain had long been his ally; the Peace of Tilsit brought in the northern Powers, for Russia could answer for Sweden and Denmark. Canning, now Foreign Secretary, did indeed compel Denmark to surrender its fleet by the bombardment of Copenhagen; but for so slight a break in this Continental system it was hardly worth incurring the unpopularity his action brought on England.

That the Berlin decree would accomplish its object seemed probable enough. Manufacture had become England's chief support; her population depended now on trade, and not on agriculture. Expensive machinery needed a vast output to keep the manufacturers solvent; a falling-off of orders meant starvation to the mass of the people. On the other hand, the war had prevented the Continental countries from imitating England's industrial example; they depended on England for cloth and other manufactured necessities; their armies could not be kept in the field without the goods which England alone could supply. The decree was thus almost as damaging

to her enemies as to England itself, and Napoleon could not prevent a vast amount of smuggling; he was even driven, by his need for money, to encourage his allies to export corn into England; otherwise, in spite of our government's encouragement of corn-growing at home by letting the landowners enclose commons and wastes, England might have been starved out.

But the British government's immediate reply to the Berlin decree was the publication of Orders in Council which declared that all neutral vessels trading with a French or allied port were liable to confiscation. Our supremacy at sea gave us an advantage over Napoleon; our blockade of his ports was not altogether effectual, but we were able to control the carrying trade of the world by destroying the shipping of other countries. The hardships which the exclusion of necessities imposed on the Continental nations had no small effect in awakening their resentment against Napoleon. France, on whom he conferred great and lasting benefits, could alone be expected to make sacrifices cheerfully for her master.

The Peninsular War.—Of all the European Powers, Portugal was bound to England by the firmest ties of interest and friendship. To compel her to acquiesce in the Berlin decree, Napoleon in 1807 sent an invading army under Junot; but when, almost at the same time, the Spanish people revolted against an attempt to force Joseph Bonaparte upon them as their king, Junot found himself cut off from France. Canning lost no time in sending help to the Peninsula. Sir Arthur Wellesley advanced upon Lisbon, from which Junot marched out to meet him at Vimiero (1808). The English victory would have been

decisive if Wellesley's seniors had not stopped the pursuit. As it was, the Convention of Cintra allowed Junot to retire with his army to France in British ships. Lisbon was entered, but Wellesley and his seniors were recalled, Sir John Moore being left in command. When Napoleon invaded Spain and, sweeping everything before him, set Joseph once more on his throne in Madrid, it seemed as if all hope in the Peninsula was at an end. But Sir John Moore gave the Spaniards time to reorganise themselves by drawing off the French armies in pursuit of his own small force of 25,000 men. Soult, Ney, and Napoleon were all pressing in upon him as he retreated to the north-west coast, where he hoped to find ships to embark his army for England. Napoleon was recalled to deal with Austria, but Soult dogged his rear throughout his winter march. When he reached Corunna the fleet had not yet arrived, and Soult was on his heels. In the engagement that ensued Soult was repulsed and Moore's army was safely embarked, but without its leader, who had fallen in the battle (January 1809).

In England the War Minister was Castlereagh; he showed great energy by sending one expedition to the Peninsula under Wellesley, and another, after Napoleon's defeat of the Austrians at Wagram, to attack Antwerp. The troops, however, never reached Antwerp, but were decimated by fever in the island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt—a failure which caused a duel between Castlereagh and Canning, and led to the resignation of both of them. But Wellesley's expedition proved to be the turning-point of the war. The difficulties in his way

were formidable; the Spaniards were useful allies for guerrilla warfare, but lacked discipline and organisation; their leaders were restive and jealous of any authority except their own. The Portuguese, under our training, proved excellent soldiers, but there was no cordial co-operation between them and the Spaniards.

Lord Wellington.—When Wellesley landed in Portugal in the spring of 1809 Soult was already in possession of Oporto; but when the English general crossed the Douro the French were driven out of the town. Wellesley now turned south, and by way of the Tagus threatened Madrid, followed by Soult. Defeating Joseph and Marshal Victor at Talavera, he could make little use of his victory; a retreat into Portugal was imperative if he was not to be caught between the two armies of the enemy. Besides, a systematic defence of Portugal did not involve the sacrifice of Spain, for the guerrilla methods of the Spaniards, favoured by the physical features of their country, would keep the French armies fully employed. So Lord Wellington—as Wellesley had become since Talavera—rested on the Portuguese frontier, while he ordered his allies to raise the triple lines of Torres Vedras round Lisbon—an impregnable fortification twenty-five miles in extent to which he could retreat in case of need.

The Defence of Portugal.—In 1810 Napoleon was free to deal with Wellington; Marshal Massena was ordered to invade Portugal, while Soult in the south and Joseph in the east were trying to subdue Spain. Massena did not arrive on the Portuguese frontier till September; retreating before him, Wellington refused to fight till he held the high ground near Busaco. A

great victory was won, but Wellington continued his retreat, devastating the country as he went. By the time the lines of Torres Vedras were reached winter had set in, and Massena had the mortification to see the enemy safely established in an impregnable position, while he himself was without supplies and harassed continually by the Portuguese. With great difficulty he made his way back into Spain and occupied Ciudad Rodrigo, about the same time as Soult, moving from before Cadiz, captured Badajoz, the other great frontier fortress. The only place of importance held now by the French in Portugal was Almeida; it was to prevent Massena from relieving it that Wellington fought the Battle of Fuentes d'Oñoro —a doubtful victory, which, however, led to the evacuation of Almeida. Meanwhile an English force was besieging Badajoz; Soult, hastening to succour the town, was met by Beresford and defeated in a desperately contested battle at Albuera; but the victory was worthless, for the siege of Badajoz had to be eventually abandoned.

At the beginning of 1811 the position in the Peninsula was rather disheartening; but the Continental System was causing resentment in the north of Europe and was creating a national movement in Prussia. When Napoleon entered on his fatal campaign against Russia he withdrew 60,000 of his best troops from Spain.

At the opening of 1812 Wellington, by a sudden attack, captured Ciudad Rodrigo, and a little later in the spring he stormed Badajoz. The way was now open once more for the invasion of Spain; the defeat of Marmont at Salamanca, the battle in which

40,000 men were beaten in forty minutes, disposed of the only obstacle between Wellington and Madrid. His triumphant entry into that city sent Joseph

MAP OF THE PENINSULAR WAR

Bonaparte to join Soult in Valencia—a movement which relieved Wellington from immediate anxiety, but which left him exposed to the future danger of an attack from a united force three times larger than his own. Profiting by the respite, he at once advanced northward to invest Burgos; but here, as at Badajoz, Wellington was ill-equipped for a siege, and the attack

failed. When the remnants of Marmont's army pressed in from the north and Soult from Valencia, the English army had to retreat on Ciudad Rodrigo, leaving the French once more in nominal possession of Spain.

Peninsular Successes.—But the needs of the Russian campaign and the ceaseless attacks of the Spanish irregulars were already producing their effects. In England, where Lord Liverpool was now Premier and Castlereagh again Foreign Secretary, the policy of starving the war had given way to enthusiasm. Thus in the spring of 1813 Wellington crossed the frontier with better omens of permanent success than ever before. Advancing along the valley of the Douro, he took Burgos, and then, passing the Ebro, he pushed the French, under Joseph and Jourdan, back as far as Vitoria. Here a great victory resulted in the French evacuation of all Spain south of the Ebro, and it seemed as if Wellington would invade France without resistance. To prevent this Napoleon sent Soult to the frontier, and a desperate struggle, in which the English finally won, took place in the Battle of the Pyrenees. In the beginning of October Wellington entered France. Soult, however, from his base at Bayonne, still resisted, and the Peninsular War was not really concluded till he was finally defeated at Toulouse in 1814.

The Russian Campaign.—By that time Napoleon had abdicated. His first reverse came to him in Russia, which he invaded in 1812 with an army of half a million men. When the Tsar retreated before him, carefully avoiding an engagement, his difficulties began; for he was fighting in a country which could

not support his army at such a distance from his base. A hard-won victory at Borodino left Moscow open, only to be evacuated shortly afterwards when a fire destroyed three-quarters of the city. An appalling retreat through devastated country in the depth of a Russian winter left only 60,000 men out of the half-million to recross the frontier. This disaster emboldened Austria and Prussia to join in the attack, and in 1813 Napoleon was utterly defeated in a three days' battle at Leipzig, with the result that the French were driven out of Central Europe. In the following year the Allies invaded France and occupied Paris; a Royalist reaction had set in against Napoleon, and he abdicated unconditionally. He was assigned the island of Elba as an independent principality, and sailed away from France on April 28, 1814.

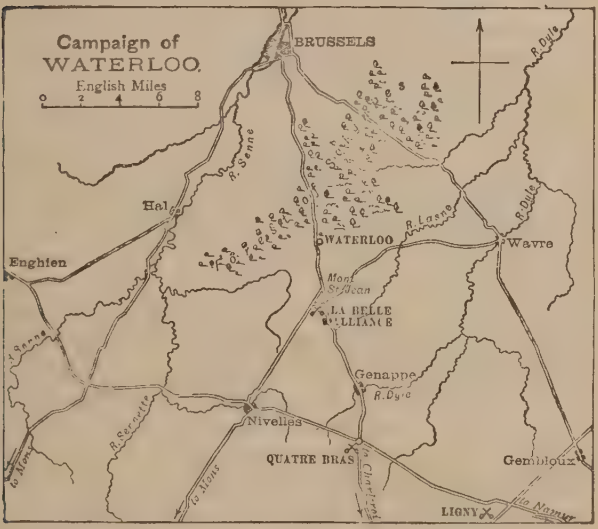
War with the United States.—While England was fighting Napoleon in Europe, she also had on her hands a war with America. The United States had been the chief sufferers from the Berlin decree and the Orders in Council; and besides being liable to have their shipping confiscated by both belligerents for alleged infringement of the blockade, the States found that England not only claimed a right of search, but actually impressed sailors serving on American ships on the ground that they were really of British nationality. On the other hand, there was no doubt that British deserters were enticed by higher pay to serve with the Americans. The war which this irritation brought about was fought out largely at sea by encounters between single frigates; the best remembered is that between the English *Shannon* and the American *Chesapeake*, in which the latter was captured

off Boston. An attempted invasion of Canada was defeated, and Washington was almost destroyed; but elsewhere, as, for example, at Lake Champlain and New Orleans, the Americans were victorious. A peace concluded at Ghent in the last days of 1814 did not mention the status of neutrals or the right of search, which had occasioned the war.

Waterloo.—Louis XVIII. had now become King of France, and his kingdom's boundaries were given a somewhat wider extent by the Allies in Paris than they had in 1792. But the wars of the last twenty years had entirely altered the political map of Europe, and many delicate negotiations were required before a satisfactory settlement could be reached. The conference held for this purpose at Vienna was suddenly interrupted by the news that Napoleon had left Elba and landed in France (March 1815). He had been welcomed with enthusiasm, and was soon at the head of 200,000 men.

Wellington was given the command of all the available troops the Allies could collect, chiefly British and Prussians, and was ready to meet Napoleon when he crossed the Belgian frontier on June 15. Two engagements were fought, one on that day and one on the next: at Quatre Bras, which Wellington was holding, Ney, the commander of the French left, was beaten back; but at Ligny their right, under Grouchy, and their centre, under Napoleon himself, defeated Blücher and his Prussians. Two days later (Sunday, June 18) the last great fight was fought near Waterloo, a village on which Wellington had fallen back, some fifteen miles south of Brussels. Blücher had retired by an almost parallel march to Wavre, so that he was almost

in touch with the English army, although the roads were so heavy that he could only move very slowly. But till he should arrive Wellington stood on the



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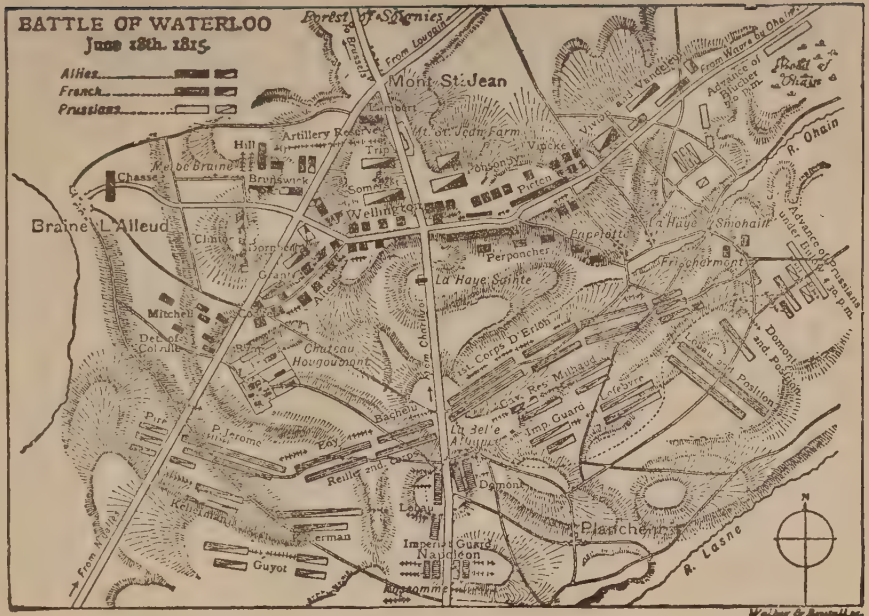
defensive. Napoleon attacked about midday, and the fight raged hottest round the manor-house of Hougoumont and the farm-buildings of La Haye Sainte, both of which were held strongly by the British. About four in the afternoon the first Prussian division arrived on the field; but the capture of La Haye Sainte a couple of hours later showed that the French were more than holding their own. More and more Prussians came up and took Napoleon on the flank; a charge of the

Old Guard failed to break the British squares; attacked in their turn the French veterans broke and fled. That was the end; the Prussian cavalry turned a defeat into a rout. The Allies advanced into France, and Napoleon surrendered to the commander of the British ship *Bellerophon*. The remaining years of his life he spent in exile on the lonely island of St. Helena.

The Settlement after the War.—The Congress at Vienna, which had been interrupted by this adventure of the Hundred Days, was renewed as soon as Louis XVIII. had been re-established in France. The new arrangement was not quite so favourable to that country, but otherwise the European settlement as agreed upon in the preceding year was carried out with very slight modifications. In Italy the King of Sardinia was given Genoa, as well as Savoy and Piedmont; the Pope had the States of the Church restored to him; a German confederacy of thirty-eight states, under the presidency of Austria, now enriched by Lombardy, Venetia, and part of Poland, replaced in a sense the old Holy Roman Empire dissolved in 1806; the Belgian Netherlands were united to Holland, the two becoming the kingdom of the Netherlands; Sweden gained Norway from Denmark, and in return ceded Finland to Russia; Prussia regained her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, secured the northern part of Saxony and Swedish Pomerania, and retained her share of Poland; the larger part of Poland went to Russia. These are the leading features of a settlement in which the peoples concerned had no voice at all.

The Effects of the War on England—The English gains, if not so large as might have been expected, were considerable. We retained Ceylon, the Cape of


BATTLE OF WATERLOO
June 18th. 1815.
Allies
French
Prussians
Forest of Soignies
Mont St. Jean
Braine L'Alleud
La Haye Sainte
Papelotte
La Haye
Smohain
Frischermont
Perponcher
Chateau Hougoumont
Mitchell
Bachelu
Reille
Foy
Kempt
Pack
Kempt and Pack
Lambert
Artillery Reserve
Hill
Brunswick
Wellington
Clinton
Alten
Picton
Vivian
Vandeleur
Vincke
Johnson
Trip
Chasse
Kruse
Best
Piré
Piremont
Detmold
Colville
Lt. Corps D'Erlon
Rey
Milhaud
Cav.
Imp. Guard
La Belle Alliance
Donzelot
Marcognet
Durutte
Domon
Lefebvre
Desnoyers
Quiot
Guyot
Imperial Guard
Napoleon
Plancenoit
Lasne
R. Ohain
From Wavre
From Louvain
From Nivelles
Advance of Blucher to the Field
Advance of Prussians under Bulow
Advance of Prussians under Pirch
Walker & Boutall sc.

Good Hope, Mauritius, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Malta. But the peace which ratified this extension of territory also brought terrible suffering to the workers of England. The inflated war prices immediately fell, and as a consequence wages were reduced and unemployment ensued. The Continental demand for British manufactures of course fell off as the domestic industries of the different nations revived. So it came about that there was less work to offer just at the time when the labour market was reinforced by large masses of disbanded soldiers. It was a curious time for the government to choose for the abolition of the income-tax, which would naturally benefit the rich rather than the poor. The unrest produced by destitution and famine—there had been an unusually bad harvest in 1816—was associated with a demand for political reforms. Hence rick-burning, which really arose from the depression in agriculture, and machine-breaking, which was due to a natural, if short-sighted, belief that labour-saving appliances were responsible for unemployment, were set down by the government as the results of the new political demands. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended soon after the pitiful attempt of some three hundred Manchester men—known from the sort of coverings or overcoats they wore as the Blanketeers—to march to London with a petition to the Prince Regent. But it was a great reform meeting held in St. Peter's Fields at Manchester—which, from being not very wisely dispersed by the military, resulted in what was known as the Peterloo massacre—that drove the government into panic legislation. Lord Sidmouth, the Addington of Pitt's time, passed a series of six Acts, most of which

EUROPE IN 1815

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might certainly be justified after the recent horrors of the French Revolution, but which included one, nominally directed against seditious meetings and assemblies, that became in practice a serious obstacle to public meetings of any kind (1819).

Reaction.—This spirit of reaction was unfortunately only too easy to criticise as being part of the deliberate attempt to bolster up despotism which had been inaugurated on the Continent by the "Holy Alliance"—an understanding between the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia to counteract any reform movements among their subjects. That the "Holy Alliance" had been discountenanced by Castlereagh did not prevent him and his colleagues in the Cabinet from being accused of trying to establish despotism in England. But as a matter of fact the chief hindrance to political reform in this country was the violence of its supporters; far from taking up Pitt's large ideas of 1785, Parliament even refused in 1819 to pass a small measure disfranchising four rotten boroughs. England was still discontented and depressed when the old king died in 1820.

CHAPTER XXII

POLITICAL REFORM AND THE MIDDLE CLASSES

GEORGE IV

1823. Reciprocity of Duties Bill.
1829. Catholic Emancipation Bill.

Canning and the Holy Alliance.—Owing to his father's insanity George IV. had been practically king for ten years before his accession. He was a very bad substitute for his honest, if rather obstinate, predecessor, for he was entirely without the industry required by public duty, and stained by the worst private vices. The beginning of his reign was marked by a revolutionary plot, called the Cato Street Conspiracy, to murder the members of the Cabinet, but it was happily detected; the Cabinet was the Tory one over which Lord Liverpool had presided for eight years. The period of reaction may be said to have ended in 1822 when Castlereagh committed suicide and was succeeded by Canning as Foreign Secretary, for Canning was not only opposed to the policy of the Holy Alliance, which approved of the intervention of foreign Powers in the domestic affairs of other countries, but was prepared to support oppressed nationalities and to cultivate international friendships by removing restrictions on trade.

Examples of England's new policy were seen in 1823 when Canning recognised the independence of Spain's revolted colonies in South America, and

Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, encouraged commerce by the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, which practically repealed the Navigation Acts. A year later another step was taken in the direction of Free Trade by the reduction of duties on silk and wool. At the same time trade combinations, either of workmen or masters, were legalised, and thus the more violent features of strikes disappeared. Robert Peel's work also, as Home Secretary, in carrying out much-needed criminal reform was an important part of the sound progress which recalled Pitt's great administration as a peace minister before the war. England's recovery during the first five years of the reign of George IV. was so marked and so rapid that it encouraged a mania for speculation unlike anything that had been seen since the South Sea Bubble of Walpole's time; and wild speculation naturally resulted in a serious commercial crisis. Although this crisis brought widespread ruin, the sensible policy of the government succeeded in restoring credit by 1827, and by that time political affairs absorbed public attention.

In the very beginning of the year Lord Liverpool died. He had been Prime Minister for fifteen years, and was now succeeded by Canning. The new leader was in favour of Catholic emancipation and a reduction in the import duties on corn; he therefore found that most of his late colleagues refused to serve under him, and he had to fall back upon the Whigs. But his ministry was hardly formed when he was stricken by a serious illness and died, about three months before Admiral Codrington's victory over the Turkish-Egyptian fleet at Navarino, which secured the eventual independence of Greece; Canning's sympathy with

Greece illustrates his opposition to the spirit of the Holy Alliance and his championship of the smaller oppressed nationalities.

Catholic Emancipation.—For a brief period Canning's government was continued by Lord Goderich; but at the beginning of 1828 the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister, on the understanding that Catholic emancipation was not to be made a Cabinet question. As a matter of fact, Catholic emancipation was the most pressing problem of the day, and although the duke was its most determined opponent, it could not possibly be ignored. From the beginning of the century Catholic relief had been continually discussed in Parliament; resolutions had been passed in its favour, and Bills in support of it had passed a second reading as early as 1813; in 1821 a measure had passed the Commons, to be rejected in the Lords. The motion was brought forward year after year till in 1823 Daniel O'Connell founded the Catholic Association. Two years later a Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected in the Lords, largely owing to the intervention of the king's brother, the Duke of York. In 1828 the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts gave a new impetus to the movement, although the voting even now still showed the same result—a narrow majority in the Commons and a great minority in the Lords. In Ireland itself the excitement reached its height when O'Connell was returned as member for Clare and, of course, could not take his seat (1828). It was this excitement, described by the Lord Lieutenant as likely to cause civil war, which decided Wellington to give way. He persuaded the king, but only by actually resigning office, to allow the matter to be brought

forward by the government, with the result that the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed in 1829. But the government had its revenge by disfranchising the Irish forty-shilling freeholders who had really secured the measure by returning O'Connell as member for Clare. The destruction of democracy seemed the best safeguard against danger from Catholic liberty.

In the following year the king died, and was succeeded by his brother, William IV.

WILLIAM IV

1832. The First Reform Act. 1834. Poor Law Amendment Act.
1833. Abolition of Slavery. 1837. Rebellion in Canada.

Parliamentary Reform.—The new king was the most popular of George III.'s sons. He had seen a good deal of naval service in his youth and had been a friend of Nelson. But he had neither the strength of will of his father nor the political ability of his elder brother.

The beginning of his reign was marked by a reaction in the country against the extreme Tories—a movement not unconnected with a revolution in Paris which had brought a citizen-king, Louis Philippe, to the French throne. Parliamentary Reform became more than ever a burning question; the omission of all reference to it from the king's speech in opening Parliament, and Wellington's emphatic declaration against it, only exasperated popular discontent. Defeated on a minor question, Wellington's government gave way (1830) to one headed by Lord Grey, a friend of Fox, who had carried the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons.

Before turning to the great Reform Bill, we may say a word on the invention of railways, especially as at this time Huskisson, the champion of Free Trade legislation, met his death by an accident at the first public trial of George Stephenson's engine, called the "Rocket," at the opening of the line between Manchester and Liverpool (September 1830).

For at least a hundred years the Parliamentary representative system had been criticised and attacked. Close boroughs, pocket boroughs, rotten boroughs, had been denounced; open bribery had been exposed. Pitt, especially, had brought in several Reform Bills, notably as Prime Minister in 1785. Then the war and the subsequent discontent had intervened. But since Grampound, a Cornish rotten borough, had been disfranchised in 1821 and its two seats given to the county, the movement had been rapidly gaining strength, in spite of Canning's persistent opposition. It is important to remember, however, that Lord Grey and his colleagues in the Cabinet were chiefly peers, who were unlikely to make any startling changes in favour of democracy; and that their moderate attitude secured the support of the king.

The prevailing system of representation left supreme power and influence in the hands of the great county families, by no means an unfair system while England was mainly agricultural. The electorate was small, certainly not more than thirty thousand. "Seventy members were returned by thirty-five places with scarcely any voters at all; ninety members were returned by forty-six places with no more than fifty voters; thirty-seven members by nineteen places with

no more than one hundred voters ; fifty-two members by twenty-six places with no more than two hundred voters. . . . Eighty-four men actually nominated one hundred and fifty-seven members for Parliament." *

The Reform Bill.—To remedy this state of things a Reform Bill was introduced in the Commons by Lord John Russell in 1831, but was rejected by a narrow majority. Amid great excitement a general election was held, and the government was returned to power. Carried in the Commons, the Bill which they reintroduced was thrown out by the Lords. Serious riots now broke out in several parts of the country. Once more the Commons passed the Bill, this time slightly modified in detail ; but the Lords still held out, largely, no doubt, because the king, alarmed by the spread of rioting, was beginning to repent of his promise to create peers enough to swamp the Opposition.

The government, unable to carry out its policy, resigned ; the king applied to the Duke of Wellington, and the duke would willingly have undertaken the task of carrying on the king's government, even to the extent of carrying a Reform Bill, if he could have found colleagues. But Peel was absolutely opposed to reform in any shape, and Lord Grey resumed office. Following Wellington's example a hundred peers refrained from voting, and thus the Bill was passed in June 1832. It provided for the disfranchisement of many nomination and rotten boroughs, for the creation of sixty-five additional county seats, and for an increase in the representation of the large towns ; at the same time the county

* Goldwin Smith, "United Kingdom," quoted in "Polit. Hist. of Engl.," xi. 288.

franchise was given to those paying an annual rent of £50, and a £10 household suffrage was established in the towns. Such was the measure that had provoked unprecedented popular enthusiasm. The country had clamoured for representation, and all it received was the partial representation of one class—the prosperous middle class. At the best it could only be accepted by the mass of the population as a temporary expedient.

The Reformed Parliament.—The reformed Parliament carried out some excellent legislation. First of all slavery was abolished in all British possessions, the owners being compensated by a gift of £20,000,000. Then, but with greater difficulty, a Factory Act was passed regulating the work of women and children. Lord Ashley, more famous under his subsequent title of Lord Shaftesbury, was chiefly responsible for this measure, which, in spite of the vehement opposition of the northern manufacturers, prohibited the employment in factories of children under nine years of age, and ordained that no young person under eighteen should work for more than sixty-nine hours a week.

But the greatest achievement of the new Parliament was the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834. Elizabeth's great measure, which had thrown upon the community the responsibility for finding work for the unemployed, had long been inoperative, and in its place had arisen a system by which relief was given in aid of wages, with two results—first, that employers, especially in the southern agricultural counties, deliberately employed paupers who were thus being subsidised by the rates in preference to independent labourers; and secondly, that the burden of heavy rates pressed very hardly upon the rest of the community. The Act

of 1834 united parishes into unions, thus throwing the burden on a larger area, restricted the system of outdoor relief, and restored the workhouse test for able-bodied paupers.

Dissensions on Irish affairs broke up Lord Grey's government; he was succeeded for a time by Lord Melbourne, who in 1835 gave way to Sir Robert Peel. But the new premier was really the king's nominee, and was actually in a minority in the House of Commons, a state of things which could not possibly last. Lord Melbourne soon returned to office at the head of a Whig ministry, and carried a Municipal Reform Act which abolished the corruption and close government of the boroughs by establishing an elective system dependent upon the burgesses and not upon the old freemen. Two other pieces of legislation are worth mentioning: in 1836 the Tithe Commutation Act set up a money charge in lieu of the old tithes in kind, which had long been fruitful in discord between the parson and his parishioners; and the reduction of the newspaper stamp duty from fourpence to one penny gave a great impulse to journalism and periodical literature.

King William died in 1837, and was succeeded by his niece Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RISE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY: VICTORIA (1837–1901)

TARIFF REFORM

1838. Beginning of Chartist Movement.
1838. Anti-Corn Law League Founded.
1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws.

End of the Hanoverian Connection.—Queen Victoria was eighteen years of age when she ascended the throne. She had been carefully trained for her duties as a queen by her mother, the Princess Victoria Mary of Saxe-Coburg. As no woman could reign in Hanover, the connection between the two crowns now came to an end.

Lord Durham in Canada.—Before William's death a rebellion had broken out in Canada, caused partly by jealousy between the French of the Lower and the English of the Upper Province, and partly by the system of government which in both provinces placed the real power in the hands of legislative assemblies nominated and controlled by the governor. To inquire into the causes of the rebellion the English government sent out Lord Durham, with powers so large that he regarded himself as a kind of dictator, whose duty was to bring about a thorough settlement of the country. His action certainly brought about a settlement, but the home government considered that he had exceeded his powers and interfered. However, it adopted the recommendations he drew up in a

masterly report for the future government of Canada, in accordance with them the two Canadas were united and given a single government, consisting of a Legislative Council of life members and a Lower House of popularly elected deputies.

Chartism; the Corn Laws.—Two new movements had their origin in 1838. Chartism was launched with a programme, called the People's Charter, advocating universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, payment of members, abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, and equal electoral districts—so evident was it that the great Reform Bill had not satisfied popular demands. The other movement was directed against the agricultural interest; a society was founded, called the Anti-Corn Law League, to secure the repeal of the protective Corn Laws. The champions of Free Trade were Richard Cobden and John Bright, and in 1841 the former began his famous agitation for repeal at Manchester, which thus became the headquarters of a new school of political thought, having for its ideal the removal of all restrictions on trade. Sir Robert Peel, now once more Prime Minister, was at first entirely opposed to the idea of repeal; but by 1842 he was so far converted that he introduced a sliding scale by which the duty should vary with the price of corn; within certain limits the duty diminished as the price rose.

Ireland and the Union.—Since the passing of the Bill for Catholic Emancipation agitation in Ireland had been transferred to a movement for repealing the Act of Union. O'Connell, now a member of the House of Commons, had gathered round him a brilliant body

of young followers who came to be known as the Young Ireland Party. His influence with the mass of Irishmen was unchallenged and he used it to demand repeal by all means short of violence. But the massing of excitable crowds was dangerous; at any moment they might break away from the leader's control; and when the crisis came and found the leader indisposed to take the next step—an armed support of the demands made—his influence was at an end. This crisis was an enormous demonstration at Clontarf; the government not only prohibited the meeting, but arrested O'Connell on a charge of conspiracy (1843). The sentence of a year's imprisonment and a fine of £2000 was afterwards reversed on a technical point of law by the House of Lords, but O'Connell's influence was at an end, and he took very little further part in public affairs. Yet the government did do something for Ireland. In 1845 it established the Queen's Colleges for the improvement of education, without regard to religious differences.

Repeal of the Corn Laws.—In that year Ireland was visited with famine, consequent upon a bad harvest. It was the sufferings of the Irish which finally decided Peel to propose a total repeal of the Corn Laws, although, as a matter of fact, he had already persuaded himself that Free Trade was vindicated by the marked increase in the consumption of those articles of food on which he had relaxed the duties in 1842. The Irish famine was, however, made the occasion of the adherence of the Whig leader, Lord John Russell, to the new policy. When Peel was unable to convert his Cabinet to his own views he resigned office, and it was only because his rival

was not very anxious to head a ministry in such circumstances that he resumed it. In the following year the Corn Laws were repealed, but not without a revolt on the part of the country party, mostly Tory squires, who found a brilliant spokesman in Benjamin Disraeli. This section of his party maintained that Peel had betrayed them; their revenge came immediately when, by uniting with the Opposition to defeat his proposed Coercion Bill for Ireland, they drove him from office.

A SPIRITED FOREIGN POLICY

India, 1785–1849.—The early years of Queen Victoria's reign saw a great consolidation of English power in India. Since the days of Warren Hastings the political side of our position there had more and more overshadowed the commercial traditions of the old Company. Except for a moment when Napoleon's Eastern expedition had offered French support to Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder Ali, we were concerned almost entirely with the native rulers. Our representative at that time was Marquis Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington, and he was determined to establish British influence in all the native courts. Tippoo Sahib's country of Mysore was invaded, Seringapatam stormed, and Tippoo killed. Mysore itself was given over to its rightful prince, but the surrounding territory and a large part of the Carnatic were definitely annexed to Madras. When Wellesley pushed his policy farther north by getting the Peshwa—or Mahratta lord of Poona—to recognise him as a sort of suzerain, he alarmed other Mahratta chiefs, especially Maharajah Sindia. It was in a campaign against Sindia

that Arthur Wellesley first distinguished himself by gaining the Battle of Assaye (1803). Another stand was made by Maharajah Holkar farther north still, but Delhi was taken and the land between the Ganges and the Jumna—practically what was known later as the North-West Provinces—was annexed.

The Afghan War.—From the time of Wellesley's recall till the accession of Queen Victoria there was continual war with the native chiefs in the peninsula and on its borders. In 1813 there was fighting in Nepaul; in 1824 in Burmah and in Arakan; in 1826 Assam was annexed; in 1839 the Afghan trouble broke out. In that year an English expedition was sent to Cabul, because it was feared that Russian influence in Afghanistan exposed India to invasion. The Ameer, Dost Mohammed, was deposed and sent to India, while Shah Shuja was set up in his stead, with Sir Alexander Burnes as his political adviser. But all this had been done without any reference to the Afghans themselves. When they revolted in 1841, under Akbar Khan, Dost Mohammed's son, General Elphinstone consented to retire with his troops into India.

It was the beginning of January when the small British army began their march through the mountain passes. In spite of Akbar's pledge for their security, they were attacked incessantly throughout the march by the wild Afghan tribes. Only one man—Dr. Brydon—survived and succeeded in reaching Jalalabad, which had not yet been evacuated by British troops. At that moment Lord Ellenborough had arrived as Governor-General at Calcutta; he was altogether opposed to a forward policy, but he allowed the

military authorities to recover Cabul before ordering a final evacuation of Afghanistan.

Dalhousie's Annexations.—In the following year (1843) Sind was conquered by Sir Charles Napier, and

in 1845 Lord Hardinge reduced the warlike Sikhs to accept a British resident at Lahore. But it was under the governor-generalship of Lord Dalhousie that the policy of annexation was pursued most

vigorously; he had to enter upon a second Sikh war, and in 1849, after the Battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat, annexed the Punjab. In a few years the Sikhs were loyally attached to the British power.

Palmerston and Foreign Affairs.—After the Protectionists had driven Peel from office, Lord John Russell became Prime Minister and Lord Palmerston Foreign Secretary. There was hardly a country in Europe which did not experience some sort of revolution in 1848, and Palmerston's influence was always exerted on the side of the revolutionaries, even against the wishes of his colleagues and of the Queen. In France, Louis Philippe lost his throne, and the Second Republic was established by Lamartine; in Austria, Kossuth demanded an independent government for Hungary; in Italy, largely owing to the fact that the revolution in Vienna had driven Metternich from power, Milan and Venice drove out the Austrians, for a time at least, and the King of Sardinia helped the revolted Lombards; in Prussia, Prince William, afterwards the first German Emperor, was driven from Berlin by revolutionaries demanding a constitution; Naples, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal were all torn by civil strife. Palmerston supported the new government in France, and advised Austria to relinquish Lombardy and Venetia; when Kossuth and the Hungarian leaders fled to Turkey, he intervened to prevent their surrender to Austria, who was now supported by Russia.

The End of Chartism.—Revolution on the Continent prompted the Chartist leaders in England to press their demands; but the government stopped a great procession which had assembled on Kennington Common from proceeding to Westminster with a monster

petition, and when it was found that the petition itself had been signed by many people who evidently regarded it as a joke, the Chartist movement died off. But, all the same, the Chartists represented a vast mass of genuine discontent with the social and political conditions of the time.

In Ireland the revolutionary spirit produced a feeble insurrection headed by the Young Ireland Party; its leader, Smith O'Brien, was transported, and nothing serious happened.

Palmerston and the Queen.—As we have seen, Lord Palmerston's foreign policy was approved neither by the Cabinet nor by the queen. In 1850 he was reprimanded by the latter for his method of transacting business; but in the same year he earned great popularity by supporting a nominal British subject—Don Pacifico—against the Greek government, and thus greatly strengthened the position of the ministry. He was forced to resign, however, in 1851 when the queen protested against his unauthorised approval of Louis Napoleon's method of seizing supreme power in France, the government having decided to preserve a strict impartiality. His revenge came next year when he carried an amendment on the Militia Bill brought in by Lord John Russell and thus drove his late colleagues from office.

The Crimean War.—Lord Derby headed a new Conservative ministry, but before the year was out he gave way to a coalition of Whigs and Peelites under Lord Aberdeen (1852); Lord John Russell was Foreign Secretary and Lord Palmerston took the Home Office. The new government was soon faced by serious trouble abroad. Russia and France had quarrelled over a

claim to protect the Christians in Turkey. A hundred years previously the Porte had given the guardianship of the holy places in Palestine to France; but when in course of time the numbers of pilgrims belonging to the Greek or Orthodox Church became far greater than those belonging to the Latin or Catholic Church, the Greeks tried to oust their rivals from their privilege. Louis Napoleon put pressure on the Porte in support of the Latins, and the Greeks turned to Russia, the leading Orthodox Power. The Tsar, Nicholas I., was not indisposed to break up Turkey's power altogether, and had already suggested a scheme of partition to England; but he had no liking for Napoleon III., whom he regarded as a usurper, and was determined to check any extension of French influence. He now tried to terrorise the Sultan, and actually demanded the recognition of Russia's claim to protect the members of the Greek Church in Turkish dominions. When this demand was refused he sent an army across the Pruth. This was eventually made a pretext for declaring war by Turkey.

In England public opinion was decidedly against what it regarded as Russian aggression; and when, after several Turkish victories on land, the Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron off Sinope (1853), Englishmen clamoured for war. Lord Palmerston's resignation, which was really due to his opposition to a new Reform Bill proposed by the Cabinet, was construed as a protest against the government's Eastern policy. His return to office a few days later, happening to coincide with the entry of the French and English fleets into the Black Sea, and their "invitation" to all Russian vessels to return to Sebastopol, was regarded as proof that the

government had at last made up its mind to go to war. As a matter of fact the action of the fleets decided the Tsar to break off negotiations, and war broke out at the beginning of 1854.

In September the allied armies landed in the Crimea, in order that by taking Sebastopol they might deprive Russia of a continual menace to Turkish independence; for the Tsar had already recrossed the Danube, and had thus removed the original cause of the war.

A Mismanaged War.—The English commander was Lord Raglan, and after his hard-won victory at the River Alma, the Allies, having missed an opportunity to attack from the north, resolved to besiege Sebastopol. The English rested on Balaclava Bay, and the French on Kamiesh. The Russian main body, under Menshikov, had come out into the open in order to keep their communications open, while Todleben and other engineers fortified the town. Menshikov attacked the English from the rear at Balaclava—a battle memorable for the futile but heroic charge of the Light Brigade—and succeeded in holding the field; a fortnight later a sortie from the garrison was repulsed by the Allies at Inkerman, "the soldiers' battle." So far the invaders had the great advantage of the command of the sea, and so were in no anxiety about supplies; but when they went into winter quarters want of proper organisation began to tell. Exposure and insufficient food reduced Lord Raglan's effective force to 11,000 men; the hospitals were full and quite unable to cope with the demands made upon them. Indignation in England drove Lord Aberdeen from office and called Lord Palmerston to

the head of affairs. Before June supplies and reinforcements arrived by sea, and Sebastopol was again bombarded; in September the French stormed the Malakoff redoubt, and the Russians evacuated the town. Although the war was being waged in several places besides the Crimea, the evacuation of Sebastopol was really the decisive event that led to peace. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1856, recognised the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, neutralised the Black Sea, closed it and the Dardanelles to ships of war, and forbade either Russia or Turkey to maintain any arsenal on its coasts. A supplementary arrangement between the Powers abolished privateering, secured enemy's merchandise (except contraband of war) sailing under neutral flags, and declared that blockades to be binding must be effective. Thus England at last abandoned her old claim to a right of search.

The Indian Mutiny.—In 1857 England was startled by news of a serious mutiny in India. For some time past signs of coming trouble had not been wanting, but the authorities, except Sir Henry Lawrence, chief commissioner of Oude, refused to be alarmed. Numerous reasons contributed to native unrest: loss of British prestige in the Afghan and Crimean wars, indiscreet attempts to force Christianity upon Brahmins and Mohammedans, a policy of refusing to recognise adopted heirs to the great princely houses, a supposed violation of native religious scruples, and above all the seizure of native territory by Lord Dalhousie, culminating in the annexation of Oude.

A large native army had been created by continual annexations such as those of the Punjab (1849) and of

Oude (1856); and the still further reduction of a smaller British force by the needs of a campaign in China gave an opportunity that was eagerly seized. The immediate pretext for the Mutiny was by no means the most important of the real causes, but a rumour that the cartridges for the new Enfield rifle had been greased with a mixture of pigs' and cows' fat served to unite both native religions; for the former animal was unclean to the one and the latter sacred to the other. The Mutiny broke out at Meerut, near Delhi, and soon spread through the North-West Provinces and Oude into Lower Bengal and Central India. That it did not extend farther was due to the loyalty of the Sikhs and most of the leading native princes, and to the diversion of British troops on their way to fight in China and Persia; for Palmerston had entered on a Chinese war in support of a rather unscrupulous claim that the British flag should protect a Chinese vessel from the Chinese customs officers, and had declared war against Persia on account of the seizure of Herat.

The chief, or at any rate the most dramatic, incidents of the Mutiny are the capture of Delhi, the massacre of Cawnpore, and the relief of Lucknow. Delhi was the ancient capital of the Mogul empire, and the first action of the Meerut mutineers was to proclaim as emperor the aged representative of the old line. But all depended on the Punjab, and when the loyal Sikhs offered their help to the government, the city was stormed and taken by John Nicholson. At Cawnpore a small English garrison was attacked by sepoys under Nana Sahib, whose pension had been stopped by the Governor-General because he was the adopted, and not the real, son of the ex-

Peshwa. After a large number of the small body of 900 men had been killed, the remainder surrendered to Nana Sahib on condition that he should conduct them down the river in safety to Allahabad; but as they embarked they were attacked by the Nana's troops, and all the men were taken back to the town and shot. The women and children were kept in a small prison-house for eighteen days, and finally butchered when a relief force was close at hand.

Relief of Lucknow.—At the beginning of the Mutiny the Cawnpore garrison sent for help to Lucknow, the old capital of the kings of Oude; but Lucknow itself or rather the Residency, was being besieged by a large army of 60,000 men. Sir Henry Lawrence and, after his death, General Inglis bravely held out for three months with a tiny force of 1000 men before they were reinforced by Sir Henry Havelock and Sir James Outram; two months later they were relieved by Sir Colin Campbell.

The Mutiny was by no means at an end, and fighting continued throughout the next year; but the government had already made up its mind that England must take over direct responsibility for India. In August 1858, Lord Derby passed a measure transferring the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown by the creation of a Secretary of State for India.

Foreign Affairs.—For the next few years there is little to record of great moment in English history; Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister from 1859 till his death in 1865, and it was understood that during his lifetime political reform, at any rate, should not be made a prime question. In 1860 Cobden, though not in the Cabinet, concluded a commercial

treaty with France, and every recurring year witnessed the financial triumphs of Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. But more stirring events were taking place on the Continent and in America.

Sardinia, under the guidance of Count Cavour, had helped the Allies in the Crimea, and had thus improved her status in Europe. Napoleon III., anxious to establish his throne by military success, was persuaded by Cavour to join Sardinia in declaring war on Austria in order to make her relinquish her hold on Lombardy. His victories of Magenta and Solferino led up to the Treaty of Villafranca (1859). Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia, gained Lombardy, but had to surrender Nice and Savoy to France. In the following year Garibaldi headed a national rising to create a united Italy, and Victor Emanuel was declared King of Italy, although it was not till 1870 that he really made good his title by entering Rome.

In 1861 the Southern States of the American Union broke away on the question of slave-owning. The Northern, or Federal, States decided to compel them to stay in the Union by force of arms. The civil war which ensued had the most disastrous effects on England, and especially on Lancashire, where the failure of the cotton supply, owing to the Federal blockade of the Southern ports, brought destitution to thousands. But it was chiefly in Lancashire that opinion favoured the Federals; elsewhere, at any rate outside the industrial classes, much sympathy was expressed for the Southern, or Confederate, States. On two occasions it seemed possible that England would be drawn into the war; first when the Federals captured two Southern envoys to Europe on board the

Trent, a British vessel, and then when the *Alabama* was allowed to leave this country on a blockade-running mission in American waters. Both incidents were settled without fighting, although the *Alabama* eventually cost us £3,000,000 as compensation when at the close of the war the matter was referred to arbitration.

In 1866 the long-prepared struggle for supremacy in Germany broke out between Austria and Prussia. Prussia, chiefly owing to the astuteness of Count Bismarck, had been the real gainer from an attack of the German Confederacy on the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, claimed by Denmark. In the war which ensued between the rivals Austria was decisively beaten at Sadowa and had to leave the Confederacy, of which Prussia was now the undisputed head.

THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

The Reform Bill of 1867.—With Lord Palmerston's death in 1865 attention was once more centred on political and social reform. Lord John Russell had helped to carry the Reform Bill of 1832, and now that he was Prime Minister a further step was taken in the same direction. But he and his followers wished to advance as little as possible, and their half-hearted measure was defeated in 1866. The new Tory ministry of Lord Derby was confronted with a violent popular agitation for a thorough-going settlement. Disraeli, the leader of the Commons, went further than his opponents, and at last, in 1867, he passed a Reform Bill which established household suffrage in the boroughs, granted the franchise to lodgers paying a £10 annual rent, and gave additional members to some of the larger

towns. Disraeli's Bill was the logical outcome of the Whig measure of 1832, although its effect was to transfer power from the middle classes to the democracy at large.

The Colonies.—Even before the accession of Queen Victoria Englishmen had begun to settle in Australia. The first settlers were convicts, and the first penal settlement was made at Sydney in 1788. Sheep-farming was for some years the chief attraction for colonists, who came in ever-increasing numbers, especially when in 1840 New South Wales refused to receive any more convicts. By that time Western Australia and South Australia had become separate colonies. In 1839 a successful settlement was made in New Zealand, and that colony too soon separated from New South Wales. But the real impetus to Australian colonisation came in 1850 with the discovery of gold. There was a rush to the gold-diggings at Ballarat, and the new colony of Victoria increased its population fivefold in four years. When the gold fever passed, agriculture and sheep-farming still offered a great field for energetic men. In 1859 Queensland was added to the colonies, which by this time had all received fixed forms of government.

Canada.—The union of the two Canadas, which had been brought about by Lord Durham's report in 1840, was developed by Disraeli in 1867, when those two provinces, with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, became the Dominion of Canada with one federated government. Later, Manitoba, British Columbia, and the North-West Territory were added, and in 1886 the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway linked up this huge province.

South Africa.—The English settlement of South Africa dates from the end of the Napoleonic wars, when we retained Cape Colony. From that time till the present we have always been confronted with two problems—the natives and the Boers, or Dutch settlers. The latter continually withdrew as we advanced; in the first two years of the queen's reign they migrated into the Orange Free State and Natal; when Natal was declared a British colony in 1844, many of them migrated across the Vaal River. Four years later the Orange Free State was brought under British suzerainty, although its independence was recognised in 1853. In 1861 the Boers across the Vaal established the Transvaal State. The first serious trouble with the natives occurred in 1851, when war with the Kaffirs led two years later to the annexation of British Kaffraria. The Cape had been given a constitution in 1853, and the discovery of diamonds in 1867 gave a great impetus to the development of the colony, although it has another source of wealth in the export of wool.

Gladstone's Government.—After carrying the Reform Bill Lord Derby's ministry, now headed by Disraeli himself, was defeated on the question of the Irish Church. In 1867 a secret society known as the Fenian Brotherhood, composed largely of American Irishmen, had committed outrages in Ireland, Chester, Manchester, and London. Mr. Gladstone was convinced that Irish discontent arose largely from the legal establishment of an alien Church and from the system of land tenure. In 1869 he therefore disestablished the Irish Church, and in 1870 he passed the Irish Land Act, which prevented the tenant from being evicted by the land-

owner at short notice, in fact whenever a better price was offered for the land, without any compensation for improvements which he had made.

Other reforms introduced by Mr. Gladstone at this time were the establishment of School Boards throughout the country by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the abolition of religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge, the abolition of the system of purchasing commissions in the army (1871), and the introduction of voting by ballot at Parliamentary elections (1872). In 1874 Gladstone resigned office, and took no active part in politics for the next six years.

The Franco-Prussian War.—On the Continent the growing power of Prussia was alarming Napoleon III. By 1870 Bismarck considered himself strong enough to go to war, and skilfully enticed Napoleon into picking a quarrel. The Prussian army was wonderfully organised and led by a great soldier, Von Moltke; the French were absolutely unprepared for taking the field. A series of victories, culminating in Sedan and the surrender of Metz, allowed the Prussians to dictate their own terms to the Emperor. But at Paris, where Napoleon had been deposed and the Third Republic had been set up, the new government refused to come to terms; the Prussians had therefore to invade France and besiege the capital. In January 1871, Paris capitulated, and a peace was made by which France ceded Alsace and Lorraine and promised to pay an enormous war indemnity. At the same time the King of Prussia was made hereditary Emperor of a new German Empire by the other German states which had joined in the war against France. It was the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome to fight the

Prussians that enabled Victor Emanuel to complete the great work of uniting Italy. Yet another consequence of the war was the declaration by Russia that she felt herself no longer bound by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, which excluded ships of war from the Black Sea. France was unable to move, Germany was glad to obtain French provinces without interference, and England confined herself to protests. In the end a conference of the Powers held in London agreed that the clause of the Treaty of Paris which secured the neutrality of the Black Sea should be abrogated, and allowed the Sultan to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the warships of his allies in case of need.

Disraeli's Government and Imperialism. — When Gladstone resigned in 1874 he was succeeded by Disraeli; the course of domestic reforms was interrupted, for the new Premier's ideal was rather to uphold and increase British prestige abroad than to carry out quiet legislation at home. In 1877 the queen was proclaimed Empress of India, and wars were conducted in Ashantee (1874), Afghanistan (1878–80), and Zululand (1879). But his chief attention was given to European affairs, especially in the Near East. The misgovernment of the Turks had caused a revolt of the Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1875); a remonstrance from the Powers addressed to Turkey had little effect, and in the following year the "Bulgarian atrocities" roused indignation in England. But Disraeli saw in the integrity of Turkey the best obstacle to Russian expansion, and he was not anxious to do anything that would interfere with the Sultan's power. When

in 1877 Russia, on behalf of the Bulgarians and other Christians, declared war against Turkey and carried all before her, English sympathy for the Bulgarians gave way to mistrust of their champion; when a Russian army halted a few miles from Constantinople, most Englishmen demanded and expected war. But at the beginning of 1878 the two belligerents concluded peace at San Stefano, and war was again only averted by Russia consenting to a congress of the Powers at Berlin to sanction or revise the terms agreed upon. Disraeli (now a peer with the title of Lord Beaconsfield) attended the congress along with Lord Salisbury, and an arrangement was there made by which Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the guardianship of Austria, though not separated from the Turkish Empire; Bulgaria, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were recognised as independent states; Eastern Roumelia was to remain subject to Turkey under a Christian governor; and Turkey undertook to allow religious liberty to her Christian population. At the same time a special treaty was concluded between England and Turkey by which the former was to defend the Asiatic possessions of the latter, and in return was to be allowed to occupy the island of Cyprus. On his return from Berlin Beaconsfield claimed that he had brought back "peace with honour."

Egypt.—Egypt, Afghanistan, and South Africa al presented problems of their own during Lord Beaconsfield's government. In Egypt Ismail was an hereditary and practically independent Khedive under the suzerainty of Turkey; he was an extravagant spendthrift, and in 1875 was glad to realise his

shares in the Suez Canal, which had been cut in 1869 by French engineers. Beaconsfield at once bought the shares for the British government, and thus England secured the predominant interest in the waterway which was by far the shortest route to India. But the French were large shareholders too, and an arrangement was made by which Egyptian finances were managed jointly by England and France, a system known as the Dual Control.

Afghanistan.—The English mistrust of Russia just before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war was strengthened by a suspicion that the Tsar was intriguing with the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the government decided to be represented by an agent at Herat. But Shere Ali, the Ameer, refused to receive the British envoy, although by that time (1878) a Russian agent was already at his court. To enforce our will three armies immediately invaded Afghanistan, and had little difficulty in coercing Shere Ali's successor into accepting a British resident. But the events of the last Afghan trouble in 1839 were repeated; a few months later the resident was murdered. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India and a firm supporter of a "forward" policy, at once sent General Roberts to demand satisfaction. Kabul was taken, and the new Ameer abdicated and was replaced by his cousin, Abdur Rahman. By the following summer (1880) the government's policy was reversed; Lord Ripon was Viceroy and Mr. Gladstone Prime Minister. Afghanistan was to be evacuated. Most of the British troops had already withdrawn, when a younger son of Shere Ali, advancing from Herat, cut to pieces an Anglo-Indian army under General Burrows; the survivors

retreated to Kandahar, which we still held with a small force.

To relieve Kandahar General Roberts made an historic march from Cabul, covering 318 miles of unknown and difficult country in twenty-three days. On the day after his entry into the town he utterly defeated the Afghans. But the policy of evacuation was still persisted in, and Abdur Rahman was left to subdue Afghanistan as best he could; by 1884 he was complete master of the country.

South Africa.—Before the commencement of the Afghan war Lord Beaconsfield's government had found it necessary to interfere in the affairs of South Africa. In 1876 Sir Bartle Frere was sent as High Commissioner to the Cape to try to bring about a federation between that colony, Natal, and the Transvaal. At the same time Mr. Shepstone was sent to sound the feeling of the Boers in the Transvaal. Finding that the Boer Republic was bankrupt and unable to maintain order either within its own borders or on its frontiers, Mr. Shepstone proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal to the British Empire (1877), much to the indignation of the Boers. For the moment the proposed federation and the resentment of the Transvaal dropped out of sight in face of a general unrest that swept over the native tribes. The warlike Zulus especially, under their chief Cetewayo, who regarded the Boers as his hereditary enemies, had to be repressed. Cetewayo's refusal to accept a British resident and to reform his barbarous military system led to war. The home government required all the troops it could spare for Afghanistan, and the officers on the spot were inclined to under-

rate the Zulus, so that the first operations proved disastrous. Lord Chelmsford's camp at Isandlhwana was stormed, and a small force guarding Rorke's Drift only just managed to hold out by an heroic resistance from behind a barricade of bags and biscuit-tins. In the following spring (1879) Lord Chelmsford invaded Zululand with a force of 25,000 men and defeated Cetewayo at Ulundi. It was during this campaign that the Prince Imperial, the son of Napoleon III., was surprised and killed. When Mr. Gladstone returned to power, Cetewayo, who had been captured in the war, was sent back to rule the Zulus; but he had to accept many restrictions on his power, and his subjects drove him out (1880). He was succeeded by his son Dinizulu.

Gladstone's Second Administration. — In 1880 a reaction set in against imperialism; at the General Election a great Liberal majority was gained, largely by Mr. Gladstone's "Midlothian campaign." As Prime Minister for the second time Gladstone carried much useful domestic legislation, notably an Employers' Liability Act (1880), a second Irish Land Act (1881), and the Franchise Act (1881), which made household and lodger franchise uniform in counties and boroughs. But his administration is chiefly memorable for the Transvaal revolt, Irish disorders, and the Egyptian war.

The Transvaal.—During the "Midlothian campaign" Gladstone had spoken of the Conservative policy with regard to the Transvaal in a way which the Boer leaders considered favourable to their claims for independence; but in office he asserted that British suzerainty could not possibly be relinquished. The Boers decided to fight, and by the end of 1880 the

British garrisons in the Transvaal were beleaguered, and Laing's Nek, in Natal, occupied by their forces. In January 1881, Sir George Colley was repulsed in attempting to dislodge them from the latter position, and was defeated soon afterwards near the Ingogo River. Even at this time negotiations between the two governments were going on, the English offering to grant independence to the purely Dutch districts of the Transvaal, but insisting on annexing the native territories. A truce was arranged in order that these conditions might be considered; but while it lasted the Boers were entrenching Laing's Nek, and so Colley decided to occupy Majuba Hill, which dominated their position. Next morning the Boers stormed the hill and routed the British force. The news of this disaster was received with dismay and indignation in England, but the government continued its negotiations; at last the Boers accepted terms which gave them complete self-government under British suzerainty. This arrangement was modified two years later, when the title of the South African Republic was restored to the Transvaal State and the reference to suzerainty was dropped from the preamble of the recent treaty.

Irish Discontent.—In Ireland the Land Act of 1870 had not succeeded in removing discontent; evictions were still common, and the Land League was founded to secure some sort of permanent tenure. A system of "boycotting"—Captain Boycott was its first victim—arose to prevent other tenants from taking farms from which an occupier had been evicted. The disorders which resulted from this kind of intimidation were met by a Coercion Act, and then by a new Land

Act, which set up land courts with power to fix a judicial rent for a period of fifteen years; so long as this rent was paid the tenant could not be evicted. But neither coercion nor conciliation had much effect. Mr. Parnell, the Irish leader, supported the Land League in its resistance in such unmeasured language that Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary, had him and other Irish leaders arrested and imprisoned in Kilmainham gaol (1881). Outrages in Ireland only increased, and further coercive measures were passed. At last the government accepted a hint from Parnell that if arrears of rent were wiped out order might be restored, with the result that he and his colleagues were released and Mr. Forster resigned office. But the new policy was never given a chance; the dastardly murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief Secretary, and his private secretary, Mr. Burke, in broad daylight in Phœnix Park, Dublin, only led to harsher coercion than before (1882).

Egypt and the Sudan.—In Egypt the financial Dual Control of France and England had broken down; the extravagance of the Khedive was ruining the country, and the Sultan was induced to depose him (1879). The government was now reorganised by France and England, our representative being Major Baring, afterwards known as Lord Cromer. The French and English agents were assisted by a native ministry, but they received little support from it, and a distinctly national movement soon developed, headed by Arabi Bey. In consequence of Arabi's fortification of Alexandria the English fleet bombarded the town. Arabi withdrew, but the Egyptians attacked the European population. The French held aloof, so that the English

had to restore order alone, acting, of course, on behalf of the Khedive. Sir Garnet Wolseley marched against Arabi, who had taken up a position at Tel-el-Kebir, thirty miles north-east of Cairo. A victory here enabled Wolseley to enter Cairo, and the rebellion was soon at an end. But the country which had restored order had made itself responsible for maintaining it; an English army remained in Egypt, and the French had forfeited any right to be consulted in its government. Sir Evelyn Baring was appointed the British Consul-General and became practically the ruler of Egypt.

To the south of Egypt proper lay the vast unruly territory of the Sudan; between 1877 and 1879 it had been entrusted by the Khedive to the government of Major Charles George Gordon, an Engineer officer who had won the respect of the warlike Arabs and had largely succeeded in putting down the slave trade. When Gordon retired the old anarchy returned, and the Egyptian government found it almost impossible to assert the Khedive's authority. To complicate matters a Mohammedan fanatic known as the Mahdi had begun to preach a holy war of extermination against Christians and foreigners. General Hicks, with an army composed of Arabi's disbanded troops, was sent against him by the Egyptian government, the English Cabinet disclaiming any responsibility for the expedition; but his whole force was surrounded and cut to pieces by the Mahdi's Dervishes (November 1883). In a very short time the Mahdi was master of the Sudan; only a few garrison towns were held by the Egyptians. When Baker Pasha, advancing from Suakim, had been defeated and almost annihilated, a

British force was sent out under General Graham, and Gordon was despatched from England on a vague mission to Khartoum; his instructions were to report on the best means for the withdrawal of the garrisons, and his instructions from the Khedive were to act as Governor-General of the Sudan. Without troops Gordon soon found himself helpless; the fall of Berber confined him to his entrenchments in Khartoum, where he was soon besieged by the Dervishes.

When the real position was understood in England, the public clamoured for a relief expedition to be sent out at once; but it was only after several months' delay that troops were sent. When Sir Charles Wilson at last reached Khartoum in January 1885, he found that the town had been surrendered two days before and that Gordon had been killed. Lord Wolseley, the commander-in-chief, advanced from Suakim to subdue the Mahdi; but the government decided to withdraw from the Sudan, and the province was left for thirteen more years to the anarchy and oppression of the Mahdi and his son.

COLONIAL EXPANSION

Lord Salisbury's Government.—In 1885 Lord Salisbury succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister, but in the following year the latter returned to power. Anxious to settle the Irish question once and for all, he now introduced a Home Rule Bill, but, being defeated, partly by members of his own party, he resigned, and was once more succeeded by Lord Salisbury. The Conservative leader was supported by the Liberal-Unionists, who, under Lord Hartington (afterwards the Duke of Devonshire) and Mr. Chamberlain, had

refused to vote for the Irish Home Rule Bill. The most noteworthy events of this administration were the Colonial Conference of 1887, a meeting of the Prime Ministers of all the colonies held in connection with the celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee; the Local Government Act of 1888, establishing county councils; and the Naval Defence Act of 1889, for increasing the navy. On the whole it may be regarded as a period when England realised her "imperial" destiny and responsibilities most thoroughly. The establishment of the British South Africa Company by Cecil Rhodes in 1889 was an outcome of this new "imperialism."

South Africa. — In 1892 Mr. Gladstone became Premier for the fourth time, and in the following year carried his Home Rule Bill in the Commons, but not in the Lords. In 1894 he resigned, and took no further part in politics for the four remaining years of his life. His successor, Lord Rosebery, carried on the government for a short time, but Lord Salisbury returned to power in 1895, and the Conservatives ruled England continuously for ten years.

As on former occasions, the new Conservative government was memorable rather for colonial expansion and conquest than for domestic legislation. Expeditions were sent to Chitral and Ashantee (1895); a revolt was suppressed in Matabeleland (1896); the conquest of the Sudan, begun in 1896, was completed in 1898 by the Battle of Omdurman and the capture of Khartoum by Sir Herbert Kitchener. When the French occupied Fashoda it seemed as if England and France might go to war, but fortunately the French withdrew their post. However, the most important undertaking of all was in South Africa.

The Boer government in the Transvaal was not disposed to grant political rights to the foreigners—English and others—whom the discovery of gold had attracted to Johannesburg and other towns in their

South Africa, Political and Economic (before the Transvaal War)

territory. These "Outlanders" decided to get by force what they could not get by persuasion. With the knowledge of Cecil Rhodes, then Premier of Cape Colony, Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia, with a force of 500 men, made a raid from Mafeking to support the aggrieved "Reformers." On New

Year's Day, 1896, he was met by the Boers at Krugersdorp and had to surrender; sent under arrest to England, he and some English officers who had joined him were imprisoned for invading a friendly state.

The Transvaal War.—But the feeling left by the Raid led the British government to try to induce the Boers to come to terms with the Outlanders; at last, in 1899, President Kruger offered them a sort of franchise, on condition, among other things, that Great Britain would drop all claim to suzerainty. The offer was rejected and war declared; before the end of the year troops from India landed in Natal, and the Boers invaded that colony and invested Mafeking and Kimberley. Englishmen were inclined to underestimate the fighting powers of the Boers and the advantages their training on the veldt gave them; the Boers, remembering their former triumph, were unprepared for the tenacity displayed by our government. As it turned out, it took us two and a half years and 250,000 troops, including many colonials and volunteers, to conquer a population of which the men did not number 50,000.

The fighting took place chiefly in Northern Natal; Sir George White was driven into Ladysmith, and most of our operations were directed to his relief. After our earlier reverses at Magersfontein and Colenso Lord Roberts was sent out as Commander-in-Chief, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of the Staff. Kimberley was now relieved, and General Cronje was surrounded and captured at Paardeberg. Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State—which had thrown in its lot with the Transvaal—was occupied and the country

annexed. Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, was entered in June 1900. In February Sir Redvers Buller, after many reverses and a decisive defeat at Spion Kop, near the Tugela River, had relieved Ladysmith, and in May the Boers had had to retire from Mafeking.

The capture of Pretoria and the annexation of the Transvaal hardly ended the war, for the Boers under Botha and De Wet kept up obstinate guerrilla fighting; but Lord Kitchener, who had now assumed command, gradually hunted them down till they accepted the Peace of Vereeniging which incorporated the two Boer states with the empire (1902).

The struggle had excited much sympathy with the Boers on the Continent, and it almost seemed as if other Powers would intervene; but the spirit displayed by the nation and its colonies, and above all our naval supremacy, prevented any such result.

Queen Victoria did not live to see the successful issue of a war which had overclouded her last days of life; she died on January 22, 1901, and was mourned by her people as a great sovereign, whose patriotism and good sense had been of inestimable value to England during the greater part of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXIV

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Legislation and Social Progress.—The political events of the period nearest to our own times are so important as affording a clue to the political conditions under which we ourselves live that little mention has been made in the preceding narrative of those non-political movements which are of even greater importance for understanding properly the present state of English society. Indeed it is primarily to the widespread interest taken in politics that we owe one of the most powerful social influences of our time—the cheap newspaper; nor could the newspaper have reached its present influence but for the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1870 which made elementary education compulsory. So that here at least we have an example of a very close connection between legislation and social progress; for the cheap newspaper and periodical, coming in the wake of elementary education, have brought about a taste for reading which has resulted in the establishment of free libraries supported by the public rates.

Steam and Communications.—The nineteenth century is above all the period when science was applied to practical uses. In the eighteenth century many mechanical inventions had been applied to industry; but the application of the steam engine to locomotion is the especial characteristic of the nineteenth. The

GREAT BRITAIN: WATERWAYS

Only the principal canals and navigable portions of the rivers are shown

first steamer crossed the Atlantic in 1819; but paddle-boats were not very suitable for ocean voyages and a great impetus was given to steamships by the invention of the screw propeller shortly after 1840. Among other consequences was the building of ironclads for the navy. In the last few years the turbine engine has begun to displace the screw propeller.

On land, steam was used in another way; rails were laid along which the steam engine drew its wheeled load. As early as 1814 George Stephenson had made a locomotive engine for a colliery, but it took him fifteen years to perfect one so suitable for passenger traffic as to conquer vested interests and popular ignorance. In 1840 the line between Manchester and Liverpool was opened, and on that occasion, Stephenson's engine called the "Rocket" was given its first public trial. From that time till 1845 a mania for laying railways came over the country, resulting in a financial crisis owing to over-speculation and in the extinction of the old stage-coach. Towards the end of the century electricity was beginning to take the place of steam on suburban lines and to be used for tramways, while petrol was found cheaper for driving engines or motors on ordinary roads.

Electricity.—Apart from traction, electricity was found useful for many purposes. The electric telegraph was in fairly full operation as early as 1845, although it was not till 1870 that the lines passed into the control of the Post Office as a national service. It is curious that it is only twopence cheaper to send twenty words by telegraph now than it was in 1846. The electric telephone has passed through the same phase of private ownership since its establishment in

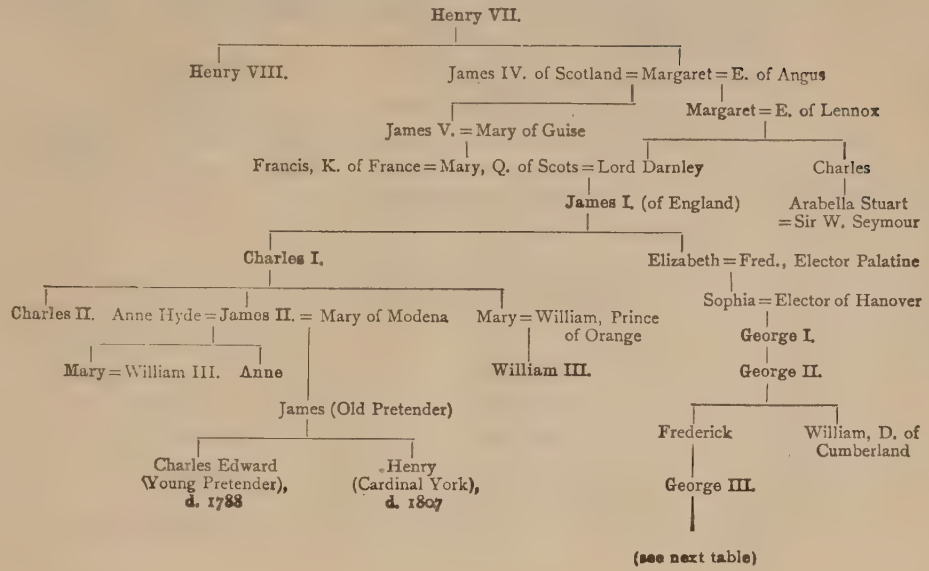
England in 1880, and will be taken over by the Post Office in the immediate future. One other use of electricity, for lighting, has spread rapidly in recent years.

Effects of Mechanical Inventions.—These mechanical inventions, which we are apt to take for granted, have had the most important effects upon the social life of England. They have, for instance, undoubtedly helped to stimulate that crowding of the rural population into the towns which had been begun by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, and to encourage emigration. Distant countries and their produce, either as food or raw material, have been brought much nearer, and while the abundant raw material has brought prosperity to the towns, abundant foreign corn has depressed native agriculture, and so helped to depopulate the country-side. The sudden crowding of the towns brought evils of its own; as we have seen in the preceding narrative, factory and other industrial Acts, often strongly resisted by the manufacturers and mine-owners, were required to regulate the conditions of labour; and elementary precautions against bad sanitation and housing were secured only by Parliament's interference.

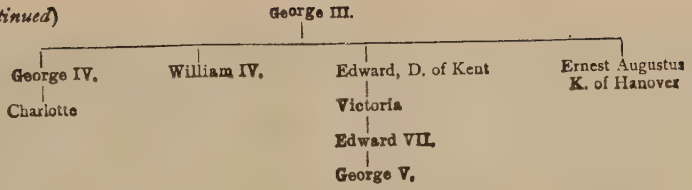
Capital and Labour.—It was inevitable that under the ill-organised conditions of industry disputes should arise between the employers of labour and the employed. It was probably partly owing to the stormy times of the revolutionary wars at the beginning of the century that all societies or clubs in the poorer ranks of society were regarded with suspicion, and no doubt the earlier trade-unions were distinctly political. This feeling of suspicion came to a head in

1866, when a Royal Commission brought to light a series of outrages, including murder, which had been perpetrated at Sheffield seven years before by agents of these unions. In 1875 and 1876, however, measures were passed which by legalising peaceful methods of combination greatly increased their power and influence, although the disastrous resort of "strikes" still remained their chief means for securing better conditions of labour. One of the most notable of these "strikes" occurred in 1889, when the dock labourers of London ceased work, and is memorable not only for the widespread sympathy with which it was viewed by the public, but as marking the origin of a new (labour) party in the state. From this time too may be dated a great development of the idea of municipal trading, and a general tendency to provide public services, such as baths, libraries, and trams, from local rates. This extended local interest in the well-being of the community may be taken as a prelude to that wider interference of the state itself in industrial affairs which in our own day has resulted in old-age pensions and in state insurance against sickness and unemployment. If the nineteenth century were memorable for nothing else, it would be memorable for this—that at its close many thoughtful men had come to the conclusion that England's wealth is to be reckoned by the well-being of *all* her citizens, and that to ensure this well-being the nation must try to equalise opportunities and to redistribute burdens in order to lighten the lot of those who, by their lifelong labour, are the real creators of the nation's prosperity.

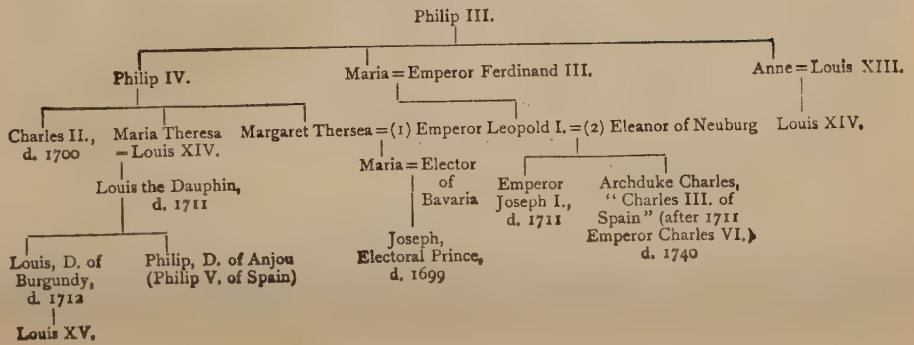
22. THE STUARTS AND HANOVERIANS


Henry VII.
Henry VIII.
James IV. of Scotland = Margaret = E. of Angus
Margaret = E. of Lennox
James V. = Mary of Guise
Francis, K. of France = Mary, Q. of Scots = Lord Darnley
Charles
James I. (of England)
Arabella Stuart = Sir W. Seymour
Charles I.
Elizabeth = Fred., Elector Palatine
Charles II.
Anne Hyde = James II. = Mary of Modena
Mary = William, Prince of Orange
Sophia = Elector of Hanover
George I.
Mary = William III.
Anne
William III.
George II.
James (Old Pretender)
Frederick
William, D. of Cumberland
Charles Edward (Young Pretender), d. 1788
Henry (Cardinal York), d. 1807
George III.
(see next table)

22. (*continued*)



23. THE SPANISH SUCCESSION


Philip III.
Philip IV.
Maria = Emperor Ferdinand III.
Anne = Louis XIII.
Louis XIV.
Charles II., d. 1700
Maria Theresa = Louis XIV.
Margaret Thersea = (1) Emperor Leopold I. = (2) Eleanor of Neuburg
Louis the Dauphin, d. 1711
Louis, D. of Burgundy, d. 1712
Louis XV.
Philip, D. of Anjou (Philip V. of Spain)
Maria = Elector of Bavaria
Joseph, Electoral Prince, d. 1699
Emperor Joseph I., d. 1711
Archduke Charles, "Charles III. of Spain" (after 1711 Emperor Charles VI.) d. 1740

DOCUMENTS

1603 TO 1846

188. The Millenary Petition.

1603. Fuller. "Church History of Great Britain," x. 21. 1655.

. . . Most gracious and dread sovereign seeing it hath pleased the Divine Majesty . . . to advance your highness, according to your just title, to the peaceable government of this church and commonwealth of England, we, the ministers of the gospel in this land, neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the church nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects of your majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the church, could do no less in our obedience to God, service to your majesty, love to his church, than acquaint your princely majesty with our particular griefs. . . . Our humble suit then unto your majesty is, that [of] these offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified.

I. *In the Church Service.*—That the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away. That divers terms of priests and absolution and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book may be corrected. The longsomeness of service abridged; etc.

II. *Concerning Church Ministers.*—That none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's day. That King Edward's statute (5 and 6 E. VI. 12) for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage be revived; etc. etc.

These, with such other abuses yet remaining and practised in the Church of England, we are able to show not to be agreeable to the scriptures, if it shall please your highness further to hear us, or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved. . . . Thus your majesty shall do that which we are persuaded shall be acceptable to God, honourable to your majesty in all succeeding ages, profitable to His church, which shall be thereby increased, comfortable to your ministers, who shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, imprisoned for men's traditions, and prejudicial to none but to those that seek their

own quiet, credit, and profit in the world. Thus with all dutiful submission referring ourselves to your majesty's pleasure for your gracious answer as God shall direct you, we most humbly recommend your highness to the Divine Majesty. . . .

Your majesty's most humble subjects, the ministers of the Gospel, that desire, not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly reformation.

189. Hampton Court Conference.

Barlow, "Sum and Substance of the Conference," p. 77.
1604. Contemporary.

In the fourth general head touching discipline Dr. Reynalds first took exception to the committing of ecclesiastical censures unto lay chancellors; his reason was, that the statute made in King Henry his time for their authority that way, was abrogated in Queen Mary's time, and not revived in the late queen's days, and abridged by bishops themselves, 1571, ordering that the said lay chancellors should not excommunicate in matters of correction; and anno 1584 and 1589, not in matters of instance, but to be done only by them who had power of the keys: his majesty answered, that he had already conferred with his bishops about that point, and that such order should be taken therein as was convenient; willing him in the meantime to go to some other matter, if he had any. Then he desireth, that according to certain provincial constitutions they of the clergy might have meetings once every three weeks; first in rural deaneries, and therein to have prophesying, according as the reverend father, Archbishop Grindal, and other bishops desired of her late majesty; (2) That such things as could not be resolved upon there might be referred to the archdeacon's visitation; and so (3) From thence to the episcopal synod, where the bishop with his *presbyteri* should determine all such points as before could not be decided.

At which speech his majesty was somewhat stirred; yet, which is admirable in him, without passion or show thereof: thinking that they aimed at a Scottish presbytery, "Which,"

saith he, "as well agreeth with a monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my council and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, it must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, nay, marry, but we will have it thus. And, therefore, here I must once reiterate my former speech, *Le roy s'avisera.* Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that of me: and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my wind-pipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough, both our hands full. But, Dr. Reynalds, till you find that I grow lazy let that alone."

And here, because Dr. Reynalds had twice before obtruded the king's supremacy, (1) In the article concerning the pope, (2) In the point of subscription, his majesty at those times said nothing: but now growing to an end, he said, "I shall speak of one matter more; yet, somewhat out of order, but it skilleth not. Dr. Reynalds," quoth the king, "you have often spoken for my supremacy, and it is well: but know you any here, or any elsewhere, who like of the present government ecclesiastical, that find fault, or dislike my supremacy?" Dr. Reynalds said, "No." "Why, then," saith his majesty, "I will tell you a tale. After that the religion restored by King Edward the Sixth was soon overthrown, by the succession of Queen Mary here in England, we in Scotland felt the effect of it. Whereupon Master Knox writes to the queen regent (of whom without flattery, I may say, that she was a virtuous and moderate lady) telling her that she was Supreme Head of the Church, and charged her, as she would answer it before God's tribunal, to take care of Christ His evangel, and of suppressing the popish prelates who withstood the same. But how long, trow ye, did this continue? Even so long, till by her authority the popish bishops were repressed. He himself and his adherents were brought in, and well settled, and by these means made strong enough to undertake the matters of reformation themselves. Then, lo, they began to make small account of her supremacy, nor would longer rest upon her authority, but took the cause into their own hand, and,

according to that more light wherewith they were illuminated, made a further reformation of religion. How they used that poor lady my mother is not unknown and with grief I may remember it: who, because she had not been otherwise instructed, did desire only a private chapel, wherein to serve God after her manner, with some few selected persons; but her supremacy was not sufficient to obtain it at their hands. And how they dealt with me in my minority you all know; it was not done secretly, and, though I would, I cannot conceal it. I will apply it thus." And then, putting his hand to his hat, his majesty said: "My lords the bishops, I may thank you that these men do thus plead for my supremacy. They think they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing unto it, as if you, or some that adhere unto you, were not well affected towards it. But if once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy. No bishop, no king, as before I said. Neither do I thus speak at random, without ground, for I have observed since my coming into England that some preachers before me can be content to pray for James, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, but as for Supreme Governor in all causes, and over all persons (as well ecclesiastical as civil), they pass that over with silence; and what cut they have been of I after learned." After this, asking them if they had any more to object, and Dr. Reynalds answering "No," his majesty appointed the next Wednesday for both parties to meet before him, and rising from his chair, as he was going to his inner chamber, "If this be all," quoth he, "that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

And this was the sum of the second day's conference, which raised such an admiration in the lords, in respect of the king his singular readiness and exact knowledge, that one of them said he was fully persuaded his majesty spake by the instinct of the spirit of God. My Lord Cecil acknowledged that very much we are bound to God, who had given us a king of an understanding heart. My Lord Chancellor, passing out of the privy chamber, said unto the Dean of Chester, standing

by the door: "I have often heard and read that *Rex est mixta persona cum sacerdote*, but I never saw the truth thereof till this day."

190. The Plantation of Ulster.

Sir John Davies, "The Plantation of Ulster,"
1610. pp. 383, 388. Contemporary.

In the perambulation which we made this summer over the escheated counties in Ulster we performed four principal points of our commission:

1. First, the land assigned to the natives we distributed among the natives in different quantities and portions, according to their different qualities and deserts.

2. Next, we made the like distribution of the lands allotted to the servitors.

3. Thirdly, we published by proclamation in each county what lands were granted to British undertakers, and what to servitors, and what to natives, to the end that the natives should remove from the precincts allotted to the Britons, whereupon a clear plantation is to be made of English and Scottish without Irish, and to settle upon the lands assigned to natives and servitors, where there shall be a mixed plantation of English and Irish together.

4. Lastly, to the British undertakers, who are for the most part come over, we gave seisin and possession of their several portions, and assigned them timber for their several buildings.

When the proclamation was published touching their removal (which was done in the public session-house, the lord deputy and commissioners being present), a lawyer of the Pale retained by them did endeavour to maintain that they had estates of inheritance in their possessions which their chief lords could not forfeit.

To this the king's attorney, being commanded by the lord deputy, made answer, that as for his majesty's right, it shall appear that his majesty may and ought to dispose of these lands in such manner as he hath done, and is about to do, in law, in conscience, and in honour.

In law, whether the case be to be ruled by our law of

England which is in force, or by their own Brehon law, which is abolished and adjudged no law, but a lewd custom.

It is our rule in our law that the king is lord paramount of all the land in the kingdom, and that all his subjects hold their possessions of him, mediate or immediate.

Again, his majesty's conscience may be satisfied, in that his majesty seeks not his own profit, but doth suffer loss by this plantation, as well in expense of his treasure as in the diminution of his revenue.

Lastly, this transplantation of the natives is made by his majesty rather like a father than like a lord or monarch. These natives of Cavan have competent portions of land assigned to them, many of them in the same barony where they dwelt before, and such as are removed are planted in the same county, so as his majesty doth in this imitate the skilful husbandman, who doth remove his fruit-trees, not with a purpose to extirpate and destroy them, but that they may bring better and sweeter fruit after the transplantation.

191. Spanish Influence against Raleigh.

Rushworth, "Historical Collections," I. 4.

1618. Before 1659.

The Conde Gondomar, an active subtle instrument to serve his master's ends, neglected no occasion tending thereunto, which he mainly shewed in the particular of Sir Walter Raleigh, wherein he put forth all his strength to destroy him, being one of the last sea-commanders then living, bred under Queen Elizabeth, and by her flesh'd in Spanish blood and ruin. He did first under-work his voyage to Guiana, which seemed to threaten loss and danger to the spreading power of Spain in the West Indies, and after his return with misfortune, he pursued him to death. In the beginning of the king's reign this gentleman, with others, was arraigned and condemned for treason; 'twas a dark kind of treason, and the vail is still upon it. The king had ground enough to shew mercy, which some of that condemned party obtained. After many years imprisonment Sir Walter Raleigh, desirous of liberty and action, propounded an American voyage upon the assurance of gaining a mine of gold in Guiana. The king hearkened

to him, and gave him power to set forth ships and men for that service, but commanded him, upon his allegiance, to give under his hand the number of his men, the burden and strength of his ships, together with the country and river which he was to enter. All this was done, and came so timely to Gondomar's knowledge that advertisement was sent to Spain, and thence to the Indies, before this English fleet departed out of the Thames. The action proved unfortunate, and the mine was inaccessible: the Spaniards at St. Thomas opposed their passage up the river, and this engaged them to assault the town, which they took, sacked, and burnt. Gondomar hereat incensed, with a violent importunity demanded the reparation of this wrong: and the Spanish faction urged that this irruption might make a breach both of the match and peace with Spain. The king's fears kindled his wrath; he disavowed the action, and, to prevent the like for the future, put forth a severe proclamation. Hereupon the storm of passion ceased, and Raleigh knowing nothing but that he might appear in England with safety, put in at Plymouth, and was no sooner landed, but by secret intimation, understanding his danger, sought to escape beyond sea, but was taken in the attempt, brought to London, and recommitted to the tower; and at length his life was offered up a sacrifice for Spain, but not upon such grounds as the ambassador had designed; for he desired a judgment upon the pretended breach of peace, that by this occasion he might slyly gain from the English an acknowledgment of his master's right in those places, and hereafter both stop their mouths and quench their heat and valour. But the late voyage was not brought in question, only his former condemnation was revived; his arraignment at Winchester many years before was now laid open, and he at the king's bench demanded why execution should not be done upon him according to the sentence therein pronounced. Raleigh answered, "That the king's late commission gave him a new life and vigor: for he that hath power over the lives of others ought to be master of his own." This plea was not accepted, but the former judgment took place, and accordingly he lost his head upon a scaffold erected in the old palace at Westminster.

192. The Protestation concerning Free Speech.

Cobbett, "Parliamentary History," I. 1361.

1621. Contemporary extract.

The commons now assembled in parliament being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of parliament, amongst others not herein mentioned, do make this protestation following:— That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and the defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament: and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason and bring to conclusion the same: that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of those matters, in such order as in their judgments shall seem fittest.

The King's Memorial on striking the Protestation of the Commons out of their Journal-Book.

His most excellent majesty coming this day to the council, the prince his highness, and all the lords and others of his majesty's privy council sitting about him, and all the judges then in London, which were six in number, there attending upon his majesty, the clerk of the commons house of parliament was called for, and commanded to produce his journal-book, wherein was noted, and entries made of most passages that were in the commons house of parliament; and amongst other things there was written down the form of a protestation concerning sundry liberties, privileges, and franchises of parliament; with which form of protestation his majesty was justly offended. Nevertheless his majesty in a most gracious manner there expressed that he never meant to deny the house of commons any lawful privileges

that ever they had enjoyed; but whatsoever privileges or liberties they had by any law or statute, the same should be inviolably preserved unto them; and whatsoever privileges they enjoyed by custom, or uncontrolled and lawful precedent, his majesty would be careful to preserve. But this protestation of the commons house, so contrived and carried as it was, his majesty thought fit to be razed out of all memorials, and utterly to be annihilated; both in respect of the manner by which it was gained, and the matter therein contained.

These things considered, his majesty did, this present day, in full assembly of his council, and in the presence of the judges, declare the said protestation to be invalid, annulled, void, and of no effect: and did further, *manu sua propria*, take the said protestation out of the journal-book of the clerk of the commons house of parliament; and commanded an act of council to be made thereupon, and this act to be entered in the register of council causes.—WHITEHALL, *Dec.* 30, 1621.

193. KING'S SPEECH ON MONOPOLIES.

Cobbett, "Parliamentary History," I. 1503.

1621. Contemporary extract.

Another grievance of mine is, that you have condemned the patents of the apothecaries in London. I myself did devise that corporation and do allow it. The grocers, who complain of it, are but merchants; the mystery of these apothecaries were belonging to apothecaries, wherein the grocers are unskilful; and therefore I think it fitting they should be a corporation of themselves. They bring home rotten wares from the Indies, Persia and Greece; and here, with their mixtures, make waters, and sell such as belong to apothecaries, and think no man must control them, because they are not apothecaries.

And lastly, touching my patents in general, I am grieved that you have called them in and condemned them upon so short examination. I confess I might have passed some upon false suggestion and wrong information; but you are not to recall them before they be examined by the judges. And

here I have heard it complained of by divers of my learned counsel in the law, that you will from time to time, delaying the patentees, still call for patents without just ground; and so put the subjects still to more charge, and so consequently put a scorn upon my patents.—Therefore I advise you to be careful, that you have a good ground before you call for your patents, that you do not defraud the patentees; hereupon falls out that which I spake to the face of many here present, the lawyers, of all the people of the land, are the greatest grievance to my subjects; for when the case is good for neither party, yet it proves good and beneficial to them; therefore this I say to you when you judge of patents, hear patiently. Say not presently it is against the law, for patents are not to be judged unlawful by you.—I must first believe myself and my council, and then you are to give your opinions of the conveniences that may ensue thereupon. And now I pray you take in good part my thanks and admonitions both; and I assure myself you will take my fatherly admonitions, as well as my thanks, in good part, as you ought to do from a king who ever was and still will be the father of your country.

194. The Crown above the Courts.

"Works of James I.," pp. 556, 557 (1616 ed.).

A Speech in the Star Chamber, June 20th, 1616.

I am next to come to the limits wherein you are to bound yourselves, which likewise are three. First, encroach not upon the prerogative of the crown: if there falls out a question that concerns my prerogative or mystery of state, deal not with it, till you consult with the king or his council, or both; for they are transcendent matters and must not be deliberately carried out with over-rash wilfulness. . . . That which concerns the mystery of the king's power is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to wade into the weakness of princes, and to take away the mystical reverence that belongs unto them that sit on the throne of God.

Secondly, that you keep yourselves within your own benches, not to invade other jurisdictions, which is an unfit

and unlawful thing. . . . Keep therefore all in your own bounds, and for my part, I desire you to give me no more right, in my private prerogative, than you give any subject, and therein I will be acquiescent: as for the absolute prerogative of the crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is lawful to be disputed.

It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that; but rest in that which is the king's revealed will in his law.

195. Impeachment of Buckingham.

Rushworth, "Historical Collections," I. 609.
1626. Contemporary extract.

Sir,

Yesterday was a day of desolation among us in parliament, and this day we fear will be the day of our dissolution. Upon Tuesday Sir John Eliot moved, that as we intended to furnish his majesty with money, we should also supply him with counsel, which was one part of the occasion why we were sent by the country, and called for by his majesty; and since that house was the greatest council of the kingdom, where, or when should his majesty have better counsel than from thence? So he desired there might be a declaration made to the king of the danger wherein the kingdom stood by the decay and contempt of religion, the insufficiency of his generals, the unfaithfulness of his officers, the weakness of his councils, the exchanging of his treasure, the death of his men, the decay of trade, the loss of shipping, the many and powerful enemies, the few and the poor friends we had abroad. . . .

(The next day) upon many debates about their liberties hereby infringed, and the imminent danger wherein the kingdom stood; Sir Edward Cook told them, he now saw God had not accepted of their humble and moderate carriages and fair proceedings, and the rather because he thought they dealt not sincerely with the king and with the country in making a true representation of the causes of all these miseries, which now he repented himself since things were come to this pass, that he did it not sooner, and therefore he not knowing

whether ever he should speak in this house again, would now do it freely, and there protested that the author and cause of all those miseries was the Duke of Buckingham, which was entertained and answered with a cheerful acclamation of the house, as when one good hound recovers the scent, the rest come in with a full cry: so they pursued it, and every one came on home, and laid the blame where they thought the fault was, and as they were voting it to the question whether they should name him in their intended remonstrance, the sole or the principal cause of all their miseries at home and abroad, the speaker having been three hours absent, and with the king, returned with this message: That the house should then rise (being about eleven o'clock, and no committees should sit in the afternoon) till to-morrow morning. What we shall expect this morning God of Heaven knows. We shall meet timely this morning, partly for the business' sake, and partly because two days since we made an order, that whosoever comes in after prayers, pays twelve pence to the poor. Sir, excuse my haste, and let us have your prayers, whereof both you and we have need: so in scribbling haste I rest,

Affectionately at your service,

THOMAS ALURED.

196. THE PETITION OF RIGHT.

1628. "Statutes of the Realm," v. 23 (1819 ed.).

(1) To the king's most excellent majesty.

Humbly show unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward the First, commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the goodwill and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any

loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition, called a benevolence, or by such like charge, by which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament:

(II) Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties with instructions have issued, by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace and others, by command or direction from your majesty or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm:

(III) And whereas also by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England" it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his freeholds or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land:

(IV) And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it was declared and enacted by authority of parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law:

(V) Nevertheless, against the tenour of the said statutes,

and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed, and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices, by your majesty's writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the cause of their detainer; no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law:

(VI) And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn against the laws and customs of this realm and to the great grievance and vexation of the people:

(VII) And whereas also by authority of parliament in the 25th year of the reign of King Edward the Third it is declared and enacted that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land, and by the said Great Charter and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm or by acts of parliament. And whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm, nevertheless of late time divers commissions under your majesty's Great Seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land according to the justice of martial law against such soldiers and mariners or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever and by such summary course and order, as is agreeable to martial law, and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause

to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial:

By pretext whereof, some of your majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been, adjudged and executed:

And also sundry grievous offenders by colour thereof, claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid. Which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm:

(VIII) They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings

to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. And that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

[On June 7 the king gave his assent in the accustomed words: *Soit droit fait comme est désiré.*]

197. The Judges and Ship-money.

Cobbett, "State Trials," iii. 843, 1260.
1637. Contemporary extract.

C. R. When the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom is in danger; whether may not the king, by writ under the Great Seal of England, command all the subjects of this kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of ships, with men, victuals and munition, and for such time as he shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom from such danger and peril; and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness? And whether, in such a case, is not the king sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?

The Judges' Answer.

May it please your most excellent majesty; we have, according to your majesty's command, every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into consideration the case and question, signed by your majesty, and enclosed in your royal letter: and we are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger; your majesty may, by writ, under the Great Seal of England, command all the subjects of this your kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of ships, with men, munition, and victuals, and for such time as your majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom from such danger and peril: and

that by law your majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness. And we are also of opinion, that in such case, your majesty is the sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

Afterwards the House of Commons took the affair directly under consideration, in calling those judges to an account, who had given their opinions for the ship-money; at which time Lord Falkland delivered himself in the following manner:

Mr. Speaker,—The constitution of this commonwealth hath established, or rather endeavoured to establish to us the security of our goods, and the security of those laws which would secure us and our goods, by appointing for us judges, so settled, so sworn, that there can be no oppression, but they of necessity must be accessory; since if they neither deny nor delay us justice, which neither for the Great nor Little Seal they ought to do, the greatest person in this kingdom cannot continue the least violence upon the meanest. But this security hath been almost our ruin; for it hath been turned, or rather turned itself into a battery against us: and those persons who should have been as dogs to defend the sheep, have been as wolves to worry them.

In this judgment they contradicted both many and learned acts and declarations of parliaments; and those in this very case, in this very reign: so that for them they need to have consulted with no other record, but with their memories. They have contradicted apparent evidences, by supposing mighty and imminent dangers, in the most serene, quiet, and halcyon days that could possibly be imagined, a few contemptible pirates being our most formidable enemies, and there being neither prince nor state, with whom we had not either alliance or amity, or both. They contradict the writ itself, by supposing that supposed danger to be so sudden, that it would not stay for a parliament, which required but forty days' stay, and the writ being in no such haste, but being content to stay seven times over.

The cause of all the miseries we have suffered, and the cause of all the jealousies we have had, that we should yet suffer, is, that a most excellent prince hath been most

infinitely abused by his judges telling him that by policy he might do what he pleased.

We must now be forced to think of abolishing of our grievances, and of taking away this judgment and these judges together, and of regulating their successors by their exemplary punishment.

198. Character of Strafford.

(A)

Clarendon, "History of the Rebellion,"
1640. i. 227. Before 1672.

The Earl of Strafford had for the space of almost six years entirely governed Ireland, where he had been compelled, upon reason of state, to exercise many acts of power; and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion.

He was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony, to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough.

He had an enemy more terrible than all the others, and like to be more fatal, the whole Scottish nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom. So that he had reason to expect as hard measure from such popular councils as he saw were like to be in request, as all those disadvantages could create towards him. And yet no doubt his confidence was so great in himself, and in the form of justice (which he could not suspect would be so totally confounded), that he never apprehended a greater censure than a sequestration from all public employments, in which it is probable he had abundant satiety: and this confidence could not have proceeded (considering the full knowledge he had of his judges) but from a proportionable stock, and satisfaction, in his own innocence.

(B)

"Eikon Basilike," p. 8. Contemporary.

I looked upon my lord of Strafford as a gentleman whose great abilities might make a prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors and many enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs, as the sun, raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgment approve all he did, driven it may be, by the necessities of times and the temper of that people, more than led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions; yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousness in him as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs than in the business of that unfortunate earl; when between my own unsatisfiedness in conscience, and a necessity, as some told me, of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was persuaded by those that I think wished me well to choose rather what was safe than what seemed just, preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men before that inward exactness of conscience before God.

And, indeed, I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my judgment I thought not, by any clear law, guilty of death, that I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret; which, as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of state by acts of so high injustice as no public convenience can expiate or compensate.

Nor were the crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both houses, especially that of the lords, of whom scarce a third part were present when the bill passed that house. And for the house of commons, many gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish my lord of Strafford's greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in law, durst not

condemn him to die; who, for their integrity in their votes, were, by posting their names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for justice (that is to have both myself and the two houses vote and do as they would have us), that many, it is thought, were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party than satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

(C)

Milton, "Eikonoklastes," p. 14. Contemporary.

This next chapter is a penitent confession of the king, and the strangest, if it be well weighed, that ever was auricular. For he repents here of giving his consent, though most unwillingly, to the most seasonable and solemn piece of justice that had been done of many years in the land: but his sole conscience thought the contrary. And thus was the welfare, the safety, and within a little, the unanimous demand of three populous nations to have attended still on the singularity of one man's opinionated conscience; if men had been always so tame and spiritless, and had not unexpectedly found the grace to understand, that if his conscience were so narrow and peculiar to itself, it was not fit his authority should be so ample and universal over others. For certainly a private conscience sorts not with a public calling; but declares that person rather meant by nature for a private fortune. And this also we may take for truth, that he whose conscience thinks it sin to put to death a capital offender, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a righteous person. But let us hear what the sin was that lay so sore upon him, and, as one of his prayers given to Dr. Juxon testifies, to the very day of his death; it was his signing the bill of Strafford's execution: a man whom all men looked upon as one of the boldest and most impetuous instruments that the king had to advance any violent or illegal design. He had ruled Ireland, and some parts of England in an arbitrary manner, had endeavoured to subvert fundamental laws, to subvert parliaments, and to incense the king against them; he had also endeavoured to make hostility between England and Scotland: he had counselled the king

to call over that Irish army of papists, which he had cunningly raised, to reduce England, as appeared by good testimony then present at the consultation. For which, and many other crimes alleged and proved against him in twenty-eight articles, he was condemned of high treason by the parliament. The commons by far the greater number cast him; the lords, after they had been satisfied in a full discourse by the king's solicitor, and the opinions of many judges delivered in their house, agreed likewise to the sentence of treason. The people universally cried out for justice.

199. Execution of Strafford.

1641. "Strafford Letters and Despatches," p. 416. (Original spelling retained.) Contemporary extract.

The King to the Earl of Strafforde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Strafford,

The misfortune that is falen upon you by the strange Mistaking and Conjunctur of thease Tymes being such that I must lay by the thought of imploing you heereafter in my Affaires; yet I cannot satisfie myself in Honnor or Concience without asseuring you (now in the midest of your Trobles) that, upon the Word of a King, you shall not suffer in Lyfe, Honnor, or Fortune. This is but Justice, and therefore a very meane Rewarde from a Maister, to so faithefull, and able a servant, as you have showed yourselfe to bee; yet it is as much, as I conceave the present Tymes will permitt, though none shall hinder me from being

Your constant faithfull Frend

Charles R.

Whythall, Apr. 23, 1641.

The Lord Primate Usher's Note.

The King wisheth me to deliver unto my Lord Strafforde to-morrow.

1. That if the King's own life only were hazarded thereby, he would never have given Passage unto his Death.

2. That the Execution without extream Danger could not be deferred.

3. That he was moved by the Lords for his Wife and Children, and intended to dispose his intire Estate upon them.

4. That if his Son be capable, he will take special notice of him for his Imployment and Preferment (which I must tell none but him).

200. The Grand Remonstrance.

The Petition of the House of Commons, which accompanied the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom.

December 1st, 1641.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Your majesty's most humble and faithful subjects the commons in this present parliament assembled, do with much thankfulness and joy, acknowledge the great mercy and favour of God, in giving your majesty a safe and peaceful return out of Scotland nto your kingdom of England, where the pressing dangers and distempers of the state have caused us with much earnestness to desire the comfort of your gracious presence, and likewise the unity and justice of your royal authority, to give more life and power to the dutiful and loyal counsels and endeavours of your parliament, for the prevention of that eminent ruin and destruction wherein your kingdoms of England and Scotland are threatened. The duty which we owe to your majesty and our country cannot but make us very sensible and apprehensive, that the multiplicity, sharpness, and malignity of those evils under which we have now many years suffered, are fomented and cherished by a corrupt and ill affected party, who amongst other their mischievous devices for the alteration of religion and government, have sought by many false scandals and imputations, cunningly insinuated and dispersed amongst the people, to blemish and disgrace our proceedings in this parliament, and to get themselves a party and faction amongst your subjects, for the better strengthening themselves in their wicked courses, and hindering those provisions and remedies which might by the wisdom of your majesty, and counsel of your parliament, be opposed against them.

For preventing whereof, and the better information of your

majesty, your peers and all other your loyal subjects, we have been necessitated to make a declaration of the state of the kingdom, both before and since the assembly of this parliament, unto this time, which we do humbly present to your Majesty, without the least intention to lay any blemish upon your royal person, but only to represent how your royal authority and trust have been abused, to the great prejudice and danger of your majesty, and of all your good subjects.

201. Cromwell Supports Popular Rights.

"Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon," written by himself, i. 78. (Oxford, 1761.)

July 1641.

He (Mr. Hyde) was often heard to mention one private committee, in which he was put accidentally in the chair; upon an enclosure which had been made of great wastes, belonging to the Queen's manors, without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a servant of near trust, who forthwith sold the lands enclosed to the Earl of Manchester; who together with his son Mandevil were now most concerned to maintain the enclosure; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the Queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand.

The committee sat in the Queen's Court, and Oliver Cromwell, being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous together with their witnesses. He enlarged upon what they said, with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned interrupted the counsel and witnesses on the other side, with great clamour, when they said anything that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde was compelled to use some sharp reproofs and some threats, to reduce them to such a temper that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell, in great fury, reproached the chairman for being partial, the other appealed to the committee; which justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do; which more inflamed him (Cromwell) who was already too much angry. When, upon any mention of matter of fact, or of the pro-

ceeding before and at the enclosure, the Lord Mandevil desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with indecency and rudeness. In the end, his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him that if he (Mr. Cromwell) proceeded in the same manner, he (Mr. Hyde) would the next morning complain to the House of him.

202. Cromwell and Church Ritual.

Ely, 10th Jan. 1643. "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

To the Reverend Mr. Hitch, at Ely: These.

Mr. Hitch,

Lest the Soldiers should in any tumultuary or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the Cathedral Church I require you to forbear altogether your Choir-service, so unedifying and offensive:—and this as you shall answer it if any disorder should arise thereupon.

I advise you to catechise, and read and expound the scripture to the people; not doubting but the Parliament, with the advice of the Assembly of Divines, will direct you farther. I desire your Sermons too, where usually they have been—but more frequent.

Your loving friend
Oliver Cromwell.

203. Who was a Puritan?

"Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson." By his Wife.

If any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a Puritan, however he conformed to their superstitious worship; if any showed favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, relieved them in want, or protected them against violent or unjust oppression, he was a Puritan; if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land, or stood up for any public interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritan; in short, all that crossed the views

of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry—whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath-breaking, derision of the word of God, and the like—whoever could endure a sermon, modest habit or conversation, or anything good—all these were Puritans; and if Puritans, then enemies to the King and his government, seditious, factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally the pest of the kingdom.

204. Pistols and Saddles.

"Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

Huntingdon, 2d August 1643.

To —— ——

Sir,

I understand by these Gentlemen the good affections of your Young Men and Maids; for which God is to be praised.

I approve of the business: only I desire to advise you that your "foot company" may be turned into a troop of horse; which indeed will, by God's blessing, far more advantage the Cause than two or three companies of foot; especially if your men be honest godly men, which by all means I desire. I thank God for stirring up the youth to cast in their mite, which I desire may be employed to the best advantage; therefore my advice is, that you would employ your Twelve-score Pounds to buy pistols and saddles, and I will provide Four-score horses; for 400*l.* more will not raise a troop of horse. As for the muskets that are bought, I think the Country will take them of you. Pray raise honest godly men, and I will have them of my regiment. As for your Officers, I leave it as God shall or hath directed to choose;—and rest,

Your loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.

205. After Marston Moor.

5th July, 1644 "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

To my loving Brother, Colonel Valentine Walton: These.

Dear Sir,

It's our duty to sympathise in all mercies; and to praise the Lord together in chastisements or trials, that so we may sorrow together. Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war began. It had all the evidences of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now; but I believe, of twenty thousand the Prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.

Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It broke his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died.

Sir, you know my own trials this way: but the Lord supported me with this, that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin nor sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you his comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russel and myself he could not express it. "It was so great above his pain." This he said to us. Indeed it was admirable. A little after, he said, one thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him, what that was? He told me it was that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of his enemies. . . . The Lord be your strength: so prays

Your truly faithful and loving brother,

Oliver Cromwell.

208. Self-denying Ordinance and New Model.

"Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."
1645. Contemporary extract.

Speech of Cromwell, December 9, 1644.

It is now time to speak, or forever hold the tongue. The important occasion now, is no less than to save a nation, out of a bleeding, nay almost dying condition: which the long continuance of war hath already brought it into; so that without a more speedy, vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war,—casting off all lingering proceedings like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war,—we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament.

For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the parliament? Even this, that the members of both houses have got great places and commands and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in parliament, what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This that I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those commanders, members of both houses, who are yet in power: but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.

But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore waving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy; which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no members of either house will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private

interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.

207. Pride's Purge.

1648. Rushworth, "Historical Collections," iv. (2) 1353–55. Before 1690.

Wednesday, December 6 (1648).

This day Col. Rich's regiment of horse, and Col. Pride's foot were a guard to the parliament, and the city trained bands discharged.

Several members going to the house were seized upon, and kept in custody by special order from the general and council of the army; which the house of commons then sitting being informed of, it was ordered that the serjeant at arms attending the house of commons should be required forthwith to go to the said members so seized, and under a guard in the queen's court and court of wards, and acquaint them that it is the pleasure of the house that they forthwith attend the service of the house. The serjeant returning, brought answer, that the captain of the guard had order to secure them, which order he was to obey before any other command; and therefore could not in prosecution thereof dismiss them till he had other orders to the contrary.

Thursday, December 7.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell came the last night to town, and sat this day in the house.

The house considered of the great and faithful services performed by Lieut. Gen. Cromwell to the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and ordered the hearty thanks of the house should be given to him for the same; he being then present, Mr. Speaker gave him thanks accordingly.

Many members of the house were this day forbid to enter the house, because something was to be that day debated concerning themselves, and therefore they ought not to be judges in their own cause.

208. Charles I.'s Advice to his Son.

(A)

1648. "Eikon Basilike," pp. 191–205. Contemporary.

Son, if these papers, with some others wherein I have set down the private reflections of my conscience and my most impartial thoughts touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed, they may be so far useful to you as to direct your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious use is the best use can be made; and that may also give you some directions how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent, if God will, the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of myself and useful to you; that neither you nor any other may hereafter measure my cause by the success, nor my judgment of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by far because they have so far lighted upon you and some others whom I have most cause to love, as well as myself, and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most princes, that you have begun and now spent some years of discretion in the experience of troubles and exercise of patience; wherein piety and all virtues, both moral and political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as trees set in winter, than in the warmth and serenity of times or amidst those delights which usually attend prince's courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone either to root up all plants of true virtue and honour, or to be contented only with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits such as tend to the public good, for which princes should always remember they are born and by providence designed.

Never repose so much upon any man's single counsel, fidelity, and discretion in managing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of religion and justice) as to create in yourself or others a diffidence of your own judgment, which is

likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interest of your crown and kingdom than any man's.

Next, beware of exasperating any factions by the crossness and asperity of some men's passions, humours or private opinions employed by you, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the sunshine of God's mercy and the splendour of your virtues, be thawed and dissipated, and the abused vulgar shall have learned that none are greater oppressors of their estates, liberties, and consciences than those men that entitle themselves patrons and vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them; let, then, no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds, that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, you shall never want a kingdom.

(B)

Milton, "Eikonoklastes," pp. 122–130. Contemporary.

What the king wrote to his son, as a father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him, as a king of England, concerns not him; God and the parliament have now otherwise disposed of England.

He exhorts his son "not to study revenge." But how far he, or at least they about him, intend to follow that exhortation, was seen lately at The Hague, and now lateliest at Madrid: where to execute in the basest manner though but the smallest part of that savage and barbarous revenge which they do nothing else but study and contemplate, they cared not to let the world know them for professed traitors and assassinators of all law both divine and human, even of that last and most extensive law kept inviolable to public persons among all fair enemies in the midst of uttermost defiance and hostility. How implacable therefore they would be, after any

terms of closure or admittance for the future, or any like opportunity given them hereafter, it will be wisdom and our safety to believe rather and prevent, than to make trial. And it will concern the multitude, though courted here, to take heed how they seek to hide or colour their own fickleness and instability with a bad repentance of their well-doing, and their fidelity to the better cause; to which at first so cheerfully and conscientiously they joined themselves.

He commends also "parliaments held with freedom and with honour." But I would ask how that can be, while he only must be the sole free person in that number; and would have the power with his unaccountable denial to dishonour them by rejecting all their counsels, to confine their lawgiving power, which is the foundation of our freedom, and to change at his pleasure the very name of a parliament into the name of a faction.

He bids his son "keep to the true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, and he shall never want a kingdom." And I say, people of England, keep ye to those principles, and ye shall never want a king. Nay, after such a fair deliverance as this, with so much fortitude and valour shown against a tyrant, that people that should seek a king, claiming what this man claims, would show themselves to be by nature slaves, and arrant beasts; not fit for that liberty which they cried out and bellowed for, but fitter to be led back again into their old servitude, like a sort of clamouring and fighting brutes, broke loose from their copyholds, that know not how to use or possess the liberty which they fought for; but with the fair words and promises of an old exasperated foe, are ready to be stroked and tamed again, into the wonted and well-pleased state of their true Norman villeinage, to them best agreeable.

209. The Siege of Drogheda.

Dublin, 16 Sept. 1649. "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

To the Hon. John Bradshaw, Esqr., President of the Council of State: These.

Sir,

It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Drogheda. After battery we stormed it. The Enemy were

about 3000 strong in the Town. They made a stout resistance; and now 1000 of our men being entered, the Enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again and entered; beating the Enemy from their defences.

The Enemy had made three retrenchments, both to the right and left of where we entered; all of which they were forced to quit. Being thus entered we refused them quarter; having the day before summoned the Town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in the safe custody for the Barbadoes. Since that time, the Enemy quitted to us Trim and Dundalk. In Trim they were in such haste that they left their guns behind them.

This hath been a marvellous great mercy. The Enemy, being not willing to put an issue upon a field-battle, had put into the garrison almost all their prime soldiers, being about 3000 horse and foot, under the command of their best officers; Sir Arthur Ashton being made governor. There were some seven or eight regiments, Ormond's being one, under the command of Sir Edmund Varney. I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one Lieutenant, who, I hear, going to the Enemy said that he was the only man that escaped of all the garrison. The Enemy upon this were filled with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God.

I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom indeed the praise of this mercy belongs. . . .

Your most humble servant
OLIVER CROMWELL.

210. THE NAVIGATION ACT.

Scobell, "Acts and Ordinances," II. 176.

1651. Contemporary extract.

For the increase of the shipping and the encouragement of the navigation of this nation, which under the good providence

and protection of God is so great a means of the welfare and safety of this commonwealth; be it enacted by this present parliament, and the authority thereof, that from and after the 1st day of December one thousand six hundred fifty and one, and from thence forwards, no goods or commodities whatsoever, of the growth, production or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, or of any part thereof; or of any islands belonging to them, or any of them, or which are described or laid down in the usual maps or cards of those places, as well of the *English plantations* as others, shall be imported or brought into this commonwealth of England, or into Ireland, or any other lands, islands, plantations or territories to this commonwealth belonging, or in their possession, in any other ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatsoever, but only in such as do *truly and without fraud* belong only to the people of this commonwealth, or the plantations thereof, as the proprietors or right owners thereof; and whereof the master and mariners are also for the most part of them, of the people of this commonwealth, under the penalty of the forfeiture and loss of all the goods that shall be imported contrary to this act; as also of the ship (with all her tackle, *guns* and apparel) in which the said goods or commodities shall be so brought in and imported; the one moiety to the use of the commonwealth, and the other moiety to the use and behoof of any person or persons who shall seize the said goods or commodities. . . .

[And the like is further enacted for Europe] except only such foreign ships and vessels as do truly and properly belong to the people of that country or place of which the said goods are the growth, production or manufacture. . . .

Be it also further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from henceforth it shall not be lawful to any person or persons whatsoever, to load or cause to be loaden and carried in any bottom or bottoms, ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatsoever, whereof any stranger or strangers born (unless such as be denizens or naturalised) be owners, part owners, or master, any fish, victual, wares, or things of what kind or nature soever the same shall be, from one port or creek of this commonwealth, to another port or creek of the same. . .

Passed 9th October.

211. The Battle of Worcester.

Near Worcester, 3d September, 1651
(10 at night).

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

Sir,

Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3d of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your Forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland), we built a Bridge of Boats over Severn, between it and Teme, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Teme, within pistol-shot of our other Bridge. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Major-General Dean marched from Upton on the southwest side of Severn up to Powick, a Town which was a Pass the Enemy kept. We, from our side of Severn, passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's Forces. We beat the Enemy from hedge to hedge till we beat him into Worcester.

The Enemy then drew all his Forces on the other side the Town, all but what he had lost; and made a very considerable fight with us, for three hours space: but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him to his Royal Fort, which we took,—and indeed have beaten his whole Army. When we took this Fort, we turned his own guns upon him. The Enemy hath had great loss: and certainly is scattered, and run several ways. We are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, that we hope will gather him up.

Indeed this hath been a very glorious mercy;—and as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen. Both your old Forces and those new-raised have behaved themselves with very great courage; and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone His doing. I hope I shall within a day or two give you a more perfect account.

In the mean time I hope you will pardon, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.

212. The Conference After Worcester.

Whitlocke, "Memorials of English Affairs," p. 491.
1651. Contemporary. (First full ed. published 1737.)

Upon the defeat at Worcester, Cromwell desired a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament, and some chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, That now the old King being dead, and his Son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation. And in order thereunto, had requested this Meeting; that they together might consider and advise, What was fit to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament.

Speaker. My Lord, this Company were very ready to attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our Forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

Harrison. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, is, To advise as to the Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so, that the mercies which the Lord hath given-in to us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question.

Whitlocke. It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved! Yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here, should be fruitless.—I should humbly offer, in the first place, Whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this Settlement is desired? Whether of an absolute Republic, or with any mixture of Monarchy.

Cromwell. My Lord Commissioner Whitlocke hath put us upon the right point: and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, Whether a Republic, or a mixed Monarchical Government will be the best to be settled? And if anything Monarchical, then, In whom that power shall be placed?

Sir Thomas Widdrington. I think a mixed Monarchical

Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation. And if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the late King.

COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, Whether an absolute Republic, or a mixed Monarchy, be best to be settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined!

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found, that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchica. power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

SPEAKER. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

COLONEL DESBOROW. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the way of a Republic?

WHITLOCKE. The Laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you will scarce have time [1] to rectify it, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

COLONEL WHALLEY. I do not well understand matters of Law: but it seems to me the best way, Not to have anything of Monarchical power in the Settlement of our Government. And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The King's Eldest Son hath been in arms against us, and his Second Son likewise is our enemy.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late King's Third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

WHITLOCKE. There may be a day given for the King's Eldest Son, or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come in to the Parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual liberties, as Settlement may be made with them.

CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary

[1] Between this and November 1654.

difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our Rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, That a Settlement with somewhat of Monarchical power in it would be very effectual.

213. Dissolution of the Rump.

April 20, 1653. Thomas Carlyle in "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," ii. 309.

Young Colonel Sidney, the celebrated Algernon, sat in the House this morning; a House of some Fifty-three. Algernon has left distinct note of the affair; less distinct we have from Bulstrode, who was also there, who seems in some points to be even wilfully wrong. Solid Ludlow was far off in Ireland, but gathered many details in after-years; and faithfully wrote them down, in the unappeasable indignation of his heart. Combining these three originals, we have, after various perusals and collations and considerations, obtained the following authentic, moderately conceivable account:

"The Parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings, and sat down, as he used to do, in an ordinary place." For some time he listens to this interesting debate on the Bill; beckoning once to Harrison, who came over to him, and answered dubitatingly. Whereupon the Lord General sat still, for about a quarter of an hour longer. But now the question being to be put, That this Bill do now pass, he beckons again to Harrison, says, "This is the time; I must do it!"—and so "rose up, put off his hat, and spake. At the first, and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults,"—rising higher and higher, into a very aggravated style indeed. An honourable Member, Sir Peter Wentworth by name, not known to my readers, and by me better known than trusted, rises to order, as we phrase it; says, "It is a strange language this;

unusual within the walls of Parliament this! And from a trusted servant too; and one whom we have so highly honoured; and one——"—"Come, come!" exclaims my Lord General in a very high key, "we have had enough of this,"—and in fact my Lord General now blazing all up into clear conflagration, exclaims, "I will put an end to your prating," and steps forth into the floor of the House, and "clapping on his hat," and occasionally "stamping the floor with his feet," begins a discourse which no man can report! He says—Heavens! he is heard saying: "It is not fit that you should sit here any longer! You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing lately. You shall now give place to better men!—Call them in!" adds he briefly, to Harrison, in word of command: and "some twenty or thirty" grim musketeers enter, with bullets in their snaphances; grimly prompt for orders. . . .

"You call yourselves a Parliament," continues my Lord General in a clear blaze of conflagration: "You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament! Some of you are drunkards," and his eye flashes on poor Mr. Chaloner, an official man of some value, addicted to the bottle; "some of you are—" and he glares into Harry Marten, and the poor Sir Peter who rose to order, lewd livers both—"living in open contempt of God's Commandments. Following your own greedy appetites, and the Devil's Commandments. Corrupt unjust persons," and here I think he glanced "at Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, giving him and others very sharp language, though he named them not:" "Corrupt unjust persons; scandalous to the profession of the Gospel; how can you be a Parliament for God's People? Depart, I say; and let us have done with you. In the name of God,—go!"

The House is of course all on its feet,—uncertain almost whether not on its head: such a scene as was never seen before in any House of Commons. History reports with a shudder that my Lord General, lifting the sacred Mace itself, said, "What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away!"—and gave it to a musketeer. And now,—"Fetch him down!" says he to Harrison, flashing on the Speaker.

Speaker Lenthall, more an ancient Roman than anything else, declares, He will not come till forced. "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you a hand;" on which Speaker Lenthall came down, and gloomily vanished. They all vanished; flooding gloomily clamorously out, to their ulterior businesses, and respective places of abode: the Long Parliament is dissolved! "It's you that have forced me to this," exclaims my Lord General: "I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work."

214. Disorders in the Fen District.

"Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

Whitehall, April 23, 1653.

To Mr. Parker, Agent for the Company of Adventurers for Draining the Great Level of the Fens.

Mr. Parker,

I hear some unruly persons have lately committed great outrages in Cambridgeshire, about Swaffham and Botsham, in throwing down the works making by the Adventurers, and menacing those they employ thereabout. Wherefore I desire you to send one of my Troops, with a Captain, who may by all means persuade the people to quiet, by letting them know, They must not riotously do anything, for that must not be suffered: but that if there be any wrong done by the Adventurers,—upon complaint, such course shall be taken as appertains to justice, and right will be done. I rest,

Your loving friend,
Oliver Cromwell.

215. A Summons to the Little Parliament.

"Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

To ——— ———.

Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary, that the peace, safety and good government of this Commonwealth should be provided for: And

in order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approval Fidelity and Honesty, are, by myself with the advice of my Council of Officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of His Cause, and that of the good People of this Commonwealth:

I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies and Forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require You, —— ——, being one of the Persons nominated,— Personally to be and appear at the Council Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the Fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; Then and there to take upon you the said Trust; unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member for the County of ——. And hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June 1653.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

216. THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

Clarendon, "History of the Rebellion,"
1653. vi. 650. Before 1672.

It was upon the twelfth of December that the small Parliament was dissolved, when many of the members, who came to the house as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before were gone to Whitehall to be dissolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the sixteenth day the commissioners of the Great Seal, with the lord mayor and aldermen, were sent for to attend Cromwell and his council to Westminster Hall; it being then vacation time; and being come thither, the commissioners sitting upon their usual seat, and not knowing why they were sent for, the declaration of the council of officers was read, whereby Cromwell was made Protector; who stood in the Court uncovered, whilst what was contained in a piece of parchment was read, which was called the *Instrument of Government*; whereby it was ordained, "that the protector should call a parliament once in every

three years; that the first parliament should be convened upon the third day of September following, which would be in the year 1654; and that he should not dissolve any parliament once met till they had sat five months; that such bills as should be presented to him by parliament, if they should not be confirmed by him within twenty days, should pass without him, and be looked upon as laws: that he should have a select council to assist him, which should not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen: that immediately after his death the council should choose another protector before they rose: that no protector after him should be general of the army; that the protector should have power to make peace and war; that with the consent of his council he should make laws, which should be binding to the subjects during the intervals of parliament."

Whilst this was reading Cromwell had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his oath, "that he would not violate anything that was contained in that instrument of government; but would observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things, according to the best of his understanding, govern the nation according to the laws, statutes, and customs, seeking peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered."

This new-invented ceremony being in this manner performed, he himself was covered, and all the rest bare; and Lambert, who was then the second person in the army, carried the sword before his highness (which was the style he took from thenceforth) to his coach, all they whom he called into it sitting bare; and so he returned to Whitehall; and immediately proclamation was made by a herald, in the Palace-yard at Westminster.

217. A Scholar for the Charterhouse.

"Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

Whitehall, 28th July, 1655.

To Mr. Secretary Thurloe.

You receive from me, this 28th instant, a petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her son into the

Charterhouse; whose husband was employed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

I have wrote under it a common reference to the commissioners; but I mean a great deal more: That it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to —— ——. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but—to be short, I know how to deny petitions; and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to "refer" to any officer or office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing *done*.

218. To the Lord General Cromwell.

Milton's "Sonnets."

Cromwell, our chief of men, who, through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude.
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field, resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war; new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains;
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

219. Cromwell's Last Speech.

February 4, 1658. "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, I desired the carrying-on the Affairs of the Nation to these ends! The blessing which I mean, and

which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness and peace, which I desired might be improved.

That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by you; who in reference to the ancient constitution did draw me to accept the place of Protector. There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years' Peace, I did think the Nation happy therein. But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the House that then had the legislative capacity—certainly I did look that the same men who made the Frame should make it good to me! I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good. . . .

That which I told you in the Banqueting-house ten days ago was true, that there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, that the King of Scots hath an army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England. . . . And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a tumulting, what if I said into a rebellion! . . .

It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about the "Commonwealth," but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion? And if this be so, I do assign it to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your Petition and Advice, as that which might prove the settlement of the Nation. And if this be the

end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament! and let God be judge between you and me!

220. The Declaration of Breda.

1660. "Commons Journals," viii. 5.

Charles K.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, etc. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion, which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire, and longing, that those wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that, as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right, which God and nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the divine Providence, that He will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the end that fear of punishment may not engage any conscious to themselves of what is past to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration both of kings and peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights; we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and

that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects, excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed against us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least indamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring, and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights, and theirs, in a free parliament; by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

And because in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon several titles; we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things, relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament: which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid,

and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of general Monk; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at our Court at Breda, the $\frac{4}{14}$th day of April 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

221. Chief Charges against Clarendon.

"Commons Journals," ix. 16.

I. That the Earl of Clarendon hath designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; advised the King to dissolve the present Parliament; to lay aside all thoughts of Parliament for the future; to govern by military power.

II. That he hath, in hearing of many of his Majesty's subjects, falsely and seditiously said, The King was in his heart a Papist, Popishly-affected; or words to that effect.

IV. That he hath advised and procured divers of his Majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against Law, in remote islands, garrisons and other places, thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law; and to introduce precedents for imprisoning any other of his Majesty's subjects in like manner.

XI. That he advised and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being part of his Majesty's Dominions.

XVI. That he hath deluded and betrayed his Majesty and the Nation, in foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War.

XVII. That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the Fleet, about June 1666.

222. The Triple Alliance.

1668. Temple's Works, ii. 57.

Sir William Temple to Mr. Godolphin.

Brussels, January 28, 1668.

About the end of last month I passed through this place with a private commission from his Majesty to sound the mind

of the States in what concerns the present quarrel between the two crowns [France and Spain], and how they [the States] were disposed to join with him in the share of a war or project of a peace to be endeavoured by our joint offices between them. From hence I went to London with the private account of what I had in charge. After five days' stay there, I was despatched back as his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States, with full power to treat and conclude upon those points which his Majesty esteemed necessary for our common safety and the repose of Christendom in this conjuncture.

Upon the 6th I arrived here, had my first audience on the 18th, and on the 23rd were signed by me and the Commissioners given me by the States, with full powers, three several instruments of our present treaty; the first containing a league defensive and perpetual between his Majesty and the States against all persons without exception which shall invade either of them.

The second instrument contains our joint obligations to dispose France to make peace in Flanders upon one of the alternatives already proposed, and likewise to dispose Spain to accept it before the end of May; but, in case of difficulty made by them, to dispose France, however, to stop all further progress of its own arms there, and leave it wholly to the allies to procure the ends proposed in this league.

The third instrument contains certain separate articles not to be committed to letters.

'Tis hardly imaginable the joy and wonder conceived here upon the conclusion of this treaty, brought to an issue in five days, nor the applause given to his Majesty's resolution as the wisest and happiest that could in this conjuncture be taken by any Prince, both for his own and his neighbours' advantage; nor are the reflections upon the conduct of it less to the advantage of the present Ministry in England; the thing being almost done here as soon as my journey was known in London, and before my errand was suspected by any public Minister here.

Three days after our signing, the Swedish Ambassador signed another instrument jointly with me and the State

Commissioners, obliging his master to enter as principal into the same alliance.

223. Temple's Views.

1683. Temple's "Memoirs," Works, i. 384.

At a long audience in his closet I took occasion to reflect upon the late counsels and Ministry of the late Cabal: how ill his Majesty had been advised to break measures and treaties so solemnly taken and agreed;* how ill he had been served, and how ill succeeded, by the violent humour of the nation breaking out against such proceedings, and by the jealousies they had raised against the Crown. I showed how difficult, if not impossible, it was to set up here the same religion or government that was in *France;* that the universal bent of the nation was against both; that many who were perhaps indifferent enough in the matter of religion consider'd it would not be changed here but by force of an army; and that the same force which made the King master of their religion made him master of their liberties and fortunes too; that if they had an army on foot yet if composed of English they would never serve ends that the people hated and fear'd; that the Roman Catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two-hundredth, and it seemed against all common sense to think by one party to govern ninety-nine that were of contrary minds and humours; that I never knew but one foreigner who understood England well, which was Gourville; that when I was at Brussels in the first Dutch war and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he said the King had nothing to do but make the peace; that he had been long enough in England, seen enough of our Court and people and Parliaments, to conclude *that a King of England who will be the man of his people is the greatest King in the world, but if he will be anything more, by God! he is nothing at all.* The King said I had reason in all, and so had Gourville, and, laying his hand upon mine, he added, "And *I will be the man of my people.*"

* The Triple Alliance.

224. Shaftesbury.

Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel," Part I. 146 *sqq.*

Of these the false Achitophel was first;
A name to all succeeding ages curst:
For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit;
Restless, unfixed in principles and place;
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace;
A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.
A daring pilot in extremity;
Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high
He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,
Would steer too nigh the sands, to boast his wit.
Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide;
Else why should he, with wealth and honour blest,
Refuse his age the needful hours of rest?
Punish a body which he could not please;
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease?
In friendship false, implacable in hate;
Resolved to ruin or to rule the State.
To compass this the triple bond he broke;
The pillars of the public safety shook;
And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke;
Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,
Usurped a patriot's all-atoning name.
So easy still it proves in factious times
With public zeal to cancel private crimes.
How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,
Where none can sin against the people's will!
Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,
Since in another's guilt they find their own!

. . . . .

Achitophel, grown weary to possess
A lawful fame, and lazy happiness,

Disdained the golden fruit to gather free,
And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.
Now manifest of crimes contrived long since,
He stood at bold defiance with his Prince;
Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the Crown, and skulked behind the laws.
The wished occasion of the plot he takes,
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes;
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,
And proves the King himself a Jebusite.
Achitophel still wants a chief, and none
Was found so fit as warlike Absalom.
Not that he wished his greatness to create,
For politicians neither love nor hate;
But, for he knew his title not allowed
Would keep him still depending on the crowd;
That kingly power, thus ebbing out, might be
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy.

225. The Bloody Assize.

"State Trials" (ed. T. B. Howell: London, 1811),
1685. vol. xi. p. 343.

Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys. But mind me, prithee: Thou didst tell that honest man there, that my lady Lisle asked thee, whether he knew anything of the business, and thou saidest no. What was that business?

Dunne. That business that Barter did not know of?

L.C.J. Yes, that is the business; be ingenuous, tell the truth: Oh! how hard the truth is to come out of a lying Presbyterian knave. Prythee, friend, consider the oath that thou hast taken, and that thou art in the presence of a God that cannot endure a lie, nor whose holiness will not admit him to dispense with a lie: Consider that that God is an infinite being of purity, holiness, and truth; and it would be inconsistent with his being to dispense with the least untruth; and thou hast called him to witness, that thou wouldest testify the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I charge

thee, therefore, as thou wilt answer it to that God of truth, and that thou mayest be called to do, for aught I know, the very next minute, and there thou wilt not be able to palliate the truth; what was that business you and my lady spoke of?

[After a pause he said at last:]

DUNNE. I cannot give an account of it, my lord.

L.C.J. Oh Blessed God! Was there ever such a villain upon the face of the earth; to what times are we reserved! Dost thou believe there is a God?

DUNNE. Yes, my lord, I do.

L.C.J. Dost thou believe, that that God can endure a lie?

DUNNE. No, my lord, I know he cannot.

L.C.J. And dost thou believe then that he is a God of truth?

DUNNE. Yes, my lord, I do.

L.C.J. Dost thou think that that God of truth may immediately sink thee into hell-fire if thou tellest a lie?

DUNNE. I do, my lord

L.C.J. Dost thou believe, that he dost observe everything that thou thinkest, sayest, or doest; knows the secrets of thy heart, and knows whether thou tellest a lie or not, though perhaps it may be hid from us; and knows whether thou dost prevaricate or not?

DUNNE. I know, the Lord does know all things.

L.C.J. Dost thou believe, that he knows the business that you and my lady the prisoner were talking of, as well as you do; that he hath an almighty power over all his creatures, an all-piercing eye, that looks into the hearts of every one of them, and from which nothing can be concealed? Dost thou believe it possible to conceal that very discourse of yours from the knowledge of that infinite Being?

DUNNE. My lord, I do believe there is a God above.

L.C.J. I ask thee then again; dost thou believe, that that God above, who is a God of truth himself, is omniscient, omnipresent, to whom all truth is naked and open, that he knows everything that is either thought, said or done by any of his creatures, sees and knows the hearts of all men; dost thou believe all this? [He was silent for a while.]

. . . . . .

L.C.J. He is going to ask that man there whether he shall tell the truth.

DUNNE. No, my lord, I ask no man any such question.

L.C.J. Prithee tell us the truth then now: Thou art to know, that thou standest in the presence of the God of truth, and hast called him to witness that thou wouldst tell the truth.

DUNNE. My lord, I do tell the truth, as far as I can remember.

L.C.J. Then what was that you told my lady Lisle, Barter did not know?

DUNNE. What Barter did not know, my lord?

L.C.J. Ay, is not that a plain question? Of all the witnesses that ever I met with, I never saw thy fellow.

[He made no answer.]

L.C.J. I hope, gentlemen of the jury, you take notice of the strange and horrible carriage of this fellow; and withal, you cannot but observe the spirit of that sort of people, what a villainous and devilish one it is: Good God! that ever the thing called religion (a word that people have so much abused) should ever wind up persons to such a height of impiety, that it should make them lose the belief that there is a God of truth in Heaven, that sees and knows, observes and registers, and will punish and take vengeance of falsehood and perjury. It may well make the rest of mankind, that have any sort of faith in a Deity and a future life, to abhor and detest both the men and their religion, if such abominable principles may be called so. Sirs, is this what you call the Protestant religion? Shall so glorious a name be applied to so much villainy and hypocrisy? Is this the persuasion you hope to live, and die, and find salvation in? Will any of you all, gentlemen, be contented to die with a lie in your mouth? Do not you all expect, according to the orthodox doctrine of the true Church of England, that eternal damnation will be the portion of liars? And thou, wicked wretch, how durst thou appear to give testimony, before even an earthly tribunal with so much impudence and falsehood, when every lie will cost thee so dear, except a sincere and hearty repentance, and the infinite mercy of the great God interpose? I charge you

once more, as you will answer it at the bar of the great Judge of all the world, that you tell me what that business was you and the prisoner talked about: do you consider what a condition thou bringest thyself into by all this shuffling and prevarication, even as to anything of mercy in this life; for indeed it is not fit thou shouldst have the least hopes of mercy on this side eternity, and truly there is no man can imagine less than infinite mercy can pardon so flagitious a sin, one that so impudently tells and stands in a lie.

[Still he made no answer.]

226. The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

1688. Evelyn's "Diary."

July 14.—Was sealed at our office the constitution of certain commissioners to take upon them the full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, *in as unlimited a manner or rather greater than the late High Commission Court, abrogated by Parliament;* for it had not only faculty to inspect and visit all Bishops' dioceses, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter among the colleges, though founded by private men, to punish, suspend, fine or give oaths, and call witnesses. The main drift was to suppress zealous preachers. In sum it was the whole power of a Vicar-General—note the consequence! Of the clergy, the comissioners were the Archbishop of Canterbury [Sancroft], Bishop of Durham [Crew], and Rochester [Sprat]; of the Temporals, the Lord Treasurer [Rochester], the Lord Chancellor [Jeffreys] [*who alone was ever to be of the quorum*], the Chief Justice [Herbert], and the Lord President [Sunderland].

September 8.—Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, was on Monday suspended on pretence of not silencing Dr. Sharp of St. Giles's for something of a sermon in which he zealously reproved the doctrine of the Roman Catholics. The Bishop having consulted the civilians, they told him he could not by any law proceed against Dr. Sharp without producing witnesses and impleading according to form; but it was overruled by my Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop sentenced without so much as being heard to any purpose. This was thought a

very extraordinary way of proceeding, and was universally resented, and so much the rather for that two Bishops, Durham and Rochester, sitting in the Commission, and giving their suffrages, the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to sit among them.

227. The Letter of Invitation to the Prince of Orange.

Despatched the night of the acquittal of the seven Bishops.

1688. Dalrymple's "Memoirs," ii. 107.

We have great satisfaction to find that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistance as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance.

The people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the Government in relation to their religion, liberties, and properties (all of which have been greatly invaded), and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts of twenty in the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as could secure them from being destroyed; it is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them beforehand; and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable of them will venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interests would be able to draw great numbers to them; and if such a strength could be landed as were able to defend itself and them till they could be got into some order, we make no question but that strength would quickly be increased to a number double to the army here, although their army should remain firm to them; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe that their army then would be very much divided among themselves; many of the

officers being so discontented that they continue in their service only for a subsistence (besides that, some of their minds are known already), and very many of the common soldiers do daily show such an aversion to the Popish religion that there is the greatest probability imaginable of great numbers of deserters from them; and amongst the seamen it is almost certain there is not one in ten who would do them any service in such a war. Besides all this, we do much doubt whether this present state of things will not yet be much changed to the worse before another year by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and soldiers of the army, and by such other changes as are not only to be expected from a packed Parliament, but what the meeting of any Parliament (in our present circumstances) may produce against those, who will be looked upon as principal obstructors of their proceedings there; it being taken for granted that if things cannot then be carried to their wishes in a Parliamentary way, other measures will be put in execution by more violent means.

[This letter was signed by Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Bishop of London, Russell, and Sidney.]

228. Change of Ministry.

Whig Government.

Luttrell, "Brief Hist. Relat. of State Affairs," iii. 60.

March 1693.

His Majesty hath dismissed Sir John Trevor, etc., from being Commissioners of the Great Seals, and Sir John Somers, being last night called into Council, was told by the Lord President that His Majesty, being satisfied of his integrity and abilities, pitched upon him to be Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and that he would admit of no excuse, and accordingly was declared Lord Keeper.

229. Dissolution of Parliament.

1705–1713. Burnet, "History of his own Times," ii. 295.

1701.

The first thing that fell under debate upon his return was whether the Parliament should be continued or dissolved and

a new one called. Some of the leading men of the former Parliament had been secretly asked how they thought they would proceed if they should meet again. Of these, while some answered doubtfully, others said positively they would begin where they had left off, and would insist on their impeachments. The new Ministry struggled hard against a dissolution, and when they saw the King resolved on it, some of them left his service.

The heats in elections increased with every new summons. This was thought so critical a conjuncture that both sides exerted their full strength. Most of the great counties and the chief cities chose men that were zealous for the King and Government; but the rotten part of our constitution—the small boroughs—were in many places wrought on to choose bad men. Upon the whole, however, it appeared that a clear majority were in the King's interests, yet the activity of the angry side was such that they had a majority of choosing the Speaker and in determining controverted elections; but in matters of public concern things went on as the King desired and as the interest of the nation required. He [the King] said that he had entered into some alliances pursuant to the addresses of the last Parliament, and was negotiating some others, all which should be laid before them, and this was accordingly done. Both Houses began with addresses, in which they did very fully renounce the Prince of Wales. The House of Lords ordered that all such as were willing to do it should sign the address that was entered into their books.

230. Matthew Prior to Bolingbroke.

July 1714. Bolingbroke's "Letters," iv. 567.

My dear Lord,

The Queen's affairs are in a deplorable state by the glorious management with which, it seems, no man must presume to find fault. We are fallen into contempt abroad, into confusion at home. With a vast majority of the nation on our side, we are insulted by the minority; and with the merit of having made a good and popular peace, we are

reproached by those who lie under the guilt of attempting to prolong a ruinous war. It is a great while since I have thought this could never be. Was not our leader in a secret with our enemy? And I believe that there is hardly a Whig or Tory in Britain that is not of the same opinion. What the Queen will do to extricate herself from these difficulties—and she alone can save herself—I do not know. This I know: that there is no danger, no labour I decline to serve her, except one, which is that of trusting the same conduct a fifth year which has deceived herself these four years.

231. Walpole and the Colonies.

The King's Speech on opening the Session of Parliament, Oct. 19, 1721. Cobbett's "Parliamentary History" (London, 1811), vii. 912–913.

1721.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

. . . In this situation of affairs we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be; by this means, the balance of trade may be preserved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

I must therefore recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to consider how far the Duties upon these branches may be taken off, and replaced, without any new violation of public faith, or laying any new burthen upon my people. And I promise myself, that by a due consideration of this matter, the produce of those duties, compared with the infinite advantages that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

The supplying ourselves with Naval Stores, upon terms the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve

the care and attention of parliament. Our Plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength; and if, by due encouragement, we could be furnished from thence with those naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence and power of this nation, but, by employing our own colonies in his useful and advantageous service, divert them from setting up, and carrying on manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great Britain.

232. Plassey.

Robert Clive, *Letter to the Directors of the East India Company.* Malcolm, "Memoirs of Lord Clive" (London, 1836), i. 263–266.

1757. I gave you an account of the taking of Chandernagore; the subject of this address is an event of much higher importance, no less than the entire overthrow of Nabob Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the placing of Meer Jaffier on the throne. I intimated, in my last, how dilatory Suraj-u-Dowlah appeared in fulfilling the articles of the treaty. This disposition not only continued but increased, and we discovered that he was designing our ruin, by a conjunction with the French. To this end Monsieur Bussy was pressingly invited to come into this province, and Monsieur Law of Cossimbazar (who before had been privately entertained in his service) was ordered to return from Patna.

About this time some of his principal officers made overtures to us for dethroning him. At the head of these was Meer Jaffier, then Bukhshee to the army, a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested. As we had reason to believe this disaffection pretty general, we soon entered into engagements with Meer Jaffier to put the crown on his head. All necessary preparations being completed with the utmost secrecy, the army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, marched from Chandernagore on the 13th, and arrived on the 18th at Cutwa Fort, which was taken without

opposition. The 22nd, in the evening, we crossed the river, and landing on the island, marched straight for Plassey Grove, where we arrived by one in the morning. At day-break, we discovered the Nabob's army moving towards us, consisting, as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove, with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us, and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post, in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night. About noon the enemy drew off their artillery, and retired to their camp, being the same which Roy Dullub had left but a few days before, and which he had fortified with a good ditch and breastwork. We immediately sent a detachment, accompanied with two field-pieces, to take possession of a tank with high banks, which was advanced about three hundred yards above our grove, and from whence the enemy had considerably annoyed us with some cannon managed by Frenchmen. This motion brought them out a second time; but on finding them make no great effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp, from whence, and an adjacent eminence in their possession, they kept a smart fire of musketry upon us. They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced field-pieces played so warmly and so well upon them, that they were always drove back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and among the rest four or five officers of the first distinction, by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminence and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss; though the latter was defended (exclusively of blacks) by forty

French and two pieces of cannon; and the former by a large body of blacks both foot and horse. On this, a general rout ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of hackaries, and carriages filled with baggage of all kinds. Suraj-u-Dowlah escaped on a camel, and reaching Moorshedabad early next morning, despatched away what jewels and treasure he conveniently could, and he himself followed at midnight, with only two or three attendants.

It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to only twenty-two killed, and fifty wounded, and those chiefly blacks. During the warmest part of the action we observed a large body of troops hovering on our right, which proved to be our friends; but as they never discovered themselves by any signal whatsoever, we frequently fired on them to make them keep their distance. When the battle was over, they sent a congratulatory message, and encamped in our neighbourhood that night. The next morning Meer Jaffier paid me a visit, and expressed much gratitude at the service done him, assuring me, in the most solemn manner, that he would faithfully perform his engagement to the English. He then proceeded to the city, which he reached some hours before Suraj-u-Dowlah left it.

233. Clive upon British Policy in India.

Calcutta, 7th Jan. 1759. Malcolm's "Life of Lord Clive."

To the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir,

. . . The close attention you bestow on the affairs of the British nation in general, has induced me to trouble you with a few particulars relative to India, and to lay before you an exact account of the revenues of this country, the genuineness whereof you may depend on, as it has been faithfully extracted from the minister's books.

The great revolution that has been effected here by the success of the English arms, and the vast advantages gained to the Company by a treaty concluded in consequence thereof, has, I observe, in some measure, attracted the public attention;

but much more may yet in time be done if the Company will exert themselves in the manner the importance of their present possessions and future prospects deserves. I have represented to them in the strongest terms the expediency of sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandising themselves, and I dare pronounce from a thorough knowledge of this country government and of the genius of the people acquired by two years' application and experience that such an opportunity will soon offer. The reigning Subah, whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still it is true retains his attachment to us, and probably, while he has no other support, will continue to do so; but Mussulmans are so little influenced by gratitude that should he ever think it his interest to break with us, the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint. . . . Moreover, he is advanced in years, and his son is so cruel, worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession. So small a body as two thousand Europeans will secure us against any apprehensions from either the one or the other; and in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignity upon themselves.

There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes; and as under the present government, they have no security for their lives and properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic government; and there is little room to doubt our obtaining the Moghul's sunnud (or grant) in confirmation thereof, provided we agreed to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues, viz., fifty lacs annually. This has of late years been very ill paid, owing to the distractions in the heart of the Moghul Empire, which have disabled that Court from attending to their concerns in the distant provinces; and the Vizier has actually wrote to me desiring I would engage the Nabob to make the payments agreeable to the former usage; nay, further, application has been made to me from the Court of Delhi, to take charge of collecting this payment,

the person entrusted with which is the next person both in dignity and power to the Subah . But this high office I have been compelled to decline for the present, as I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Subah ; especially as I see no likelihood of the Company's providing me with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ, and which would open a way for securing the Sahabship to ourselves. That this would be agreeable to the Moghul can scarcely be questioned, and it would be so much to his interest to have these countries under the dominion of a nation famed for their good faith, rather than in the hands of people who, a long experience has shown him, never will pay him his proportion of the revenues unless awed into it by the fear of the Imperial army marching to force them thereto.

But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company ; and it is to be feared they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance, to obtain so wide a dominion. I have, therefore, presumed Sir, to represent this matter to you and submit it to your consideration, whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater length, be worthy of the government taking it into hand. I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you, that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms and that with the Moghul's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof. Now I leave you to judge whether an income yearly of upwards of two millions sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable production of nature and of art, be an object deserving the nation's attention, and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition—an acquisition which, under the management of so able and disinterested a minister, would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund toward diminishing the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour. Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our

indulgence, and under such limitations as we should think fit to prescribe. It is well worthy consideration, that this project may be brought about without draining the mother country as has been too much the case with our possessions in America. A small force from home will be sufficient, as we always make sure of any number we please of black troops, who being both much better paid and treated than by the country powers, will very readily enter into our service. . . .

The greatest part of the troops belonging to this establishment are now employed in an expedition against the French in the Deccan, and by the accounts lately received from thence, I have great hopes we shall succeed in extirpating them from the province of Golconda, where they have reigned lords paramount so long, and from whence they have drawn their principal resources during the troubles upon the coast.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary effort made by the French in sending out M. Lally with a considerable force the last year, I am confident, before the end of this, they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen event interpose in their favour. The superiority of our squadron, and the plenty of money and supplies of all kinds which our friends on the coast will be furnished with from this province, while the enemy are in total want of everything, without any visible means of redress, are such advantages as if properly attended to cannot fail of wholly effecting their ruin in that as well as in every part of India. . . .

Your most devoted humble servant,

ROBT. CLIVE.

234. THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC.

Captain John Knox, "Historical Journal" (London, 1769), ii. 66–79.

1759.

On board the *Sutherland*, September 12.

The enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians; the second Officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think, that General Amherst is advancing into the colony: *a vigorous*

blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada. Our troops below are in readiness to join us; all the light artillery and tools are embarked at the point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy; the Officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go on before them. The battalions must form on the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on, and endeavour to bring the French and Canadians to a battle. The Officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their Officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty.

Thursday, September 13, 1759.

Before day-break this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery; and the light troops were fortunately, by the rapidity of the current, carried lower down, between us and Cape Diamond; we had, in this debarkation, thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about sixteen hundred men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who, from the natural strength of the place, did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against, so bold an attempt. The chain of sentries, which they had posted along the summit of the heights, galled us a little, and picked off several men, and some Officers, before our light infantry got up to dislodge them. This grand enterprise was conducted, and executed with great good order and discretion; as fast as we landed, the boats put off for reinforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity: the General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were ashore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices

that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe; it was by this time clear day-light. Here we formed again, the river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes. The General then detached the light troops to our left to rout the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched towards the town by files, till we came to the plains of Abraham; an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery: about six o'clock the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town; whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, whereby forming the line of battle. . . . The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister-shot; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our centre, inclining towards our left; but the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons, alternately, from the forty-seventh regiment, which, after a few rounds, obliged these skulkers to retire: we were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position. About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns; about nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off, and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there; but, by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to desist, and the third battalion of Royal Americans

was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats. About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty ——, until they came within forty yards; which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their Officers: this uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose; hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town, and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many Officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sunshine: the Highlanders chased them vigorously towards Charles's river, and the fifty-eighth to the suburb close to John's gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks; at the same time a gun, which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot, galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardour, while Colonel Hunt Walsh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a stand, as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress, and recover their former ground. Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of, — GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, who received his mortal wound, as he

was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisbourg.

After our late worthy General, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down; being asked if he would have a surgeon he replied, 'It is needless; it is all over with me.' One of them cried out, 'They run, see how they run.' 'Who runs?' demanded our hero with great earnestness, like a person aroused from sleep. The Officer answered, 'The Enemy, Sir; Egad, they give way everywhere.' Thereupon the General rejoined, 'Go one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton—; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles's river, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.' Then, turning on his side, he added, 'Now, God be praised, I will die in peace'; and thus expired. . . .

235. Wolfe before Quebec.

Letter to Pitt. James Wolfe (1727–1759).
September 12, 1759. "Annual Register," 1759, p. 246.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men-of-war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully entrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them, and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign, which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of America. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. Wolfe.

Letter to his Wife. General George Townshend (1724–1807), "Histor. MSS. Commission," Report xi. Appendix iv. p. 308.

Genl. Wolfe's health is but very bad. His generalship—in my poor opinion—is not a bit better, this only between us. He never consulted any of us till the latter end of August, so that we have nothing to answer for I hope as to the success of this campaign, which from the disposition the French have made of their force must chiefly fall to Genl. Amherst and Genl. Johnson.

God bless you, my most dear wife, my blessing to my children, my good George in particular, and thank him for his letters. I have constantly thanked God for the success in the inoculation, a most comfortable circumstance for you. Mr. Barker has been slightly wounded Mr. Gay quite recover'd & join'd us. Our campaign is just over. I shall come back in Admiral Saunders's ship & in two months shall again belong to those I ought never to have left.—Adieu.—Your most affectionate husband, & faithful friend,

Geo. Townshend.

236. No. 45 of the "North Briton."

1763. John Wilkes (1727–1797).

The King's Speech has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as the Speech of the Minister. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the matter, than to the expressions of speeches, which they have advised the sovereign to make from the throne, at the opening of each session. They well knew, that an honest house of parliament, true to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence, committed by any minister. The Speech at the close of the session has ever been considered as the most secure method of promulgating the favourite court creed among the vulgar ; because the parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the liberties of the people, has in this case no opportunity of remonstrating, or of impeaching any wicked servant of the crown.

This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The minister's speech of last Tuesday, is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour and unsullied virtue. I am sure all foreigners, especially the king of Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our sovereign declare, "My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this

salutary measure of the definitive Treaty. The powers at war with my good brother the King of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation, has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe." The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind: for it is known, that the King of Prussia did not barely approve, but absolutely dictated, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from our negotiation, but he was basely deserted by the Scottish prime minister of England. He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship here, than at Vienna; and he was betrayed by us in the treaty of peace. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen? The King of Prussia, however, has gloriously kept all his former conquests, and stipulated security for all his allies, except for the Elector of Hanover. I know in what light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, from some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the Scot: expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of Englishmen through the southern part of this island.

The Preliminary Articles of Peace were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the East India Company would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign declare the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people. As to the entire approbation of parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the Civil List, already

above half a year in arrear, shows pretty clearly the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable that the minister's speech dwells on the entire approbation given by Parliament to the Preliminary Articles which, I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy and precision, by which such immense advantages both of trade and territory were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders are, indeed, in some measure set right by the Definitive Treaty; yet, the most important articles, relative to cessions, commerce and the fishery, remain as they were, with respect to the French. The proud and feeble Spaniard too does not renounce, but only desists from all pretensions, which he may have formed, to the right of fishing—where? only about the island of Newfoundland—till a favourable opportunity arises of insisting on it there, as well as elsewhere.

. . . . . .

In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in the speech that spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order. They have sent the spirit of discord through the land, and I will prophesy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the spirit of concord to go hand in hand with the PEACE and EXCISE through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent Exciseman, and a peer, gentleman, freeholder, or farmer whose private houses are now made liable to be entered and searched at pleasure? Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and in general all the cyder countries, are not surely the several counties which are alluded to in the speech. The spirit of concord hath not gone forth among them; but the spirit of liberty has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression. A nation as sensible as the English, will see that a spirit of concord, when they are oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a spirit of liberty ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel.

. . . . . .

The Stuart line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the absolute, independent, unlimited power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice: but the English nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the ancient liberties of this kingdom. "The King of England is only the first magistrate of this country; but is invested by law with the whole executive power. He is, however, responsible to his people for the due execution of the royal functions, in the choice of ministers, etc., equally with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty." The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands; but the favourite has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The prerogative of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way, not of blind favour and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our constitution. The people too have their prerogative, and I hope the fine words of Dryden will be engraven on our hearts—

"Freedom is the English subject's Prerogative."

237. A Debate on the "Wilkes" Case.

Horace Walpole, "Letters" (edited by P. Cunningham: London, 1857), iv. 189–192.

Sunday evening, Feb. 19th, 1764.

Happening to hear of a gentleman who sets out for Paris in two or three days, I stopped my letter, both out of prudence (pray admire me!) and from thinking that it was as well to send you at once the complete history of our Great Week. By the time you have read the preceding pages, you may, perhaps, expect to find a change in the ministry in what I am going to say. You must have a little patience; our parliamentary war, like the last war in Germany, produces very considerable battles that are not decisive. Marshal Pitt has given another great blow to the subsidiary army, but they remain masters of the field, and both sides sing *Te Deum*. I am not talking figuratively, when I assure you that bells, bonfires, and an illumination from the Monument, were prepared

in the City, in case we had had the majority. Lord Temple was so indiscreet and indecent as to have fagots ready for two bonfires, but was persuaded to lay aside the design, even before it was abortive.

It is impossible to give you the detail of so long a debate as Friday's. You will regret it the less when I tell you it was a very dull one. I never knew a day of expectation answer. The impromptus and the unexpected are ever the most shining. We love to hear ourselves talk, and yet we must be formed of adamant to be able to talk day and night on the same question for a week together. If you had seen how ill we looked, you would not have wondered we did not speak well. A company of colliers emerging from damps and darkness could not have appeared more ghastly and dirty than we did on Wednesday morning; and we had not recovered much bloom on Friday. We spent two or three hours on corrections of, and additions to, the question of pronouncing the warrant illegal, till the ministry had contracted it to fit scarce anything but the individual case of Wilkes, Pitt not opposing the amendments because Charles Yorke gave in to them; for it is wonderful what deference is paid by both sides to that house. The debate then began by Norton's moving to adjourn the consideration of the question for four months, and holding out a promise of a bill, which neither they mean, nor, for my part, should I like: I would not give prerogative so much as a definition. You are a peer, and therefore, perhaps, will hear it with patience—but think how *our* ears must have tingled, when he told us, that should we pass the resolution, and he were judge, he would mind it no more than the resolution of a drunken porter!—Had old Onslow been in the chair, I believe he would have knocked him down with the mace. He did hear of it during the debate, though not severely enough; but the town rings with it. Charles Yorke replied, and was much admired. Me he did not please; I require a little more than palliatives and sophistries. He excused the part he has taken by pleading that he had never seen the warrant till after Wilkes was taken up—yet he then pronounced the 'No. 45' a libel, and advised the commitment

of Wilkes to the Tower. If you advised me to knock a man down, would you excuse yourself by saying you had never seen the stick with which I gave the blow? Other speeches we had without end, but none good, except from Lord George Sackville, a short one from Elliot, and one from Charles Townsend, so fine that it *amazed, even from him.* Your brother had spoken with excellent sense against the corrections, and began well again in the debate, but with so much rapidity that he confounded himself first, and then was seized with such a hoarseness that he could not proceed. Pitt and George Grenville ran a match of silence, striving which should reply to the other. At last, Pitt, who had three times in the debate retired with pain, rose about three in the morning, but so languid, so exhausted, that, in his life, he never made less figure. Grenville answered him; and at five in the morning we divided. The Noes were so loud, as it admits a deeper sound than Aye, that the Speaker, . . . gave it for us. They went forth; and when I heard our side counted to the amount of 218, I did conclude we were victorious; but they returned 232. It is true we were beaten by fourteen, but we were increased by twenty-one; and no ministry could stand on so slight an advantage, if we could continue above two hundred.

We may, and probably shall, fall off: this was our strongest question—but our troops will stand fast; their hopes and views depend upon it, and their spirits are raised. But for the other side it will not be the same. The lookers-out will be strayers away, and their very subsidies will undo them. They bought two single votes that day with two peerages; Sir R. Bampfylde and Sir Charles Tynte—and so are going to light up the flame of two more county elections—and that in the west, where surely nothing was wanting but a tinder-box!

Adieu! pray tell Mr. Hume that I am ashamed to be thus writing the history of England, when he is with you!

238. Burke on Conciliation with the Colonies.

Edmund Burke (1729–1797), **Works** (London, 1852), vol. iii. p. 289.

1775.

I, for one, protest against compounding our demands: I declare against compounding for a poor limited sum, the

immense, ever-growing, eternal debt, which is due to generous government from protected freedom. And so may I speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom, or in the way of compulsory compact.

But to clear up my ideas on this subject—a revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—no, not a shilling. We have experience that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition, what can you expect from North America? For certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution fitted for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects, on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects, which you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue. But with regard to her own internal establishments; she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation. I say in moderation; for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war; the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you and serve you essentially.

For that service, for all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government;—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven would be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood, that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the

cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination, as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine then, that it is the land tax act, which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the committee of supply, which gives you your army? or that it is the mutiny bill, which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you

your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material; and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America, with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda!* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire: and have made the most extensive, and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

239. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, on America.

"Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham"
1775. (London, 1840), vi. 380–384.

I remember, some years ago, when the repeal of the stamp act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity on that subject; and he assured me with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America—that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities,

perhaps the conveniences, of life; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have—what, my Lords?—their woods and their liberty. The name of my authority if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.

If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America, prepare the way, open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction: but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription; cease your indiscriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thousand; oppress not three millions, for the sake of forty or fifty individuals. Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wound you have already given your colonies; you irritate them to unappeasable rancour. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit—how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, possessing valour, liberty, and resistance?

This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen: it was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England: the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution: the same spirit which established the great fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.

This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America; who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that

country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation; but they tax themselves. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration: it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow: it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exist in that relation; there is no such thing, no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property. Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American, I would recognise to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognise to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. . . .

I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced ultimately to retract;* let us retract while we can, not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts: they must be repealed—you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them: I stake my reputation on it; I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.—Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace and happiness: for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That you should first concede is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power. . . .

Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity

and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America—by a removal of your troops from Boston—by a repeal of your acts of parliament—and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures.—Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread: France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors; with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

To conclude, my Lords: If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing—I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, that the kingdom is undone.

240. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO DR. JOSEPH PRIESTLY IN ENGLAND.

Franklin's "Memoirs," iii. 399 (1833).

PHILADELPHIA, July 7th, 1775.

DEAR FRIEND,

The congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of General Gage and his attack on the country people that propositions for attempting an accommodation were not much relished, and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever.

She has begun to burn our port towns; secure, I suppose, we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtless destroy them all, but if she wishes to recover our commerce, are these the probable means? She must certainly be distracted; for no tradesman out of Bedlam ever thought of increasing the number of his customers by knocking

them on the head; or of enabling them to pay their debts by burning their houses.

If she wishes to have us as subjects, and that we should submit to her as our compound sovereign, she is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government that we shall ever detest and avoid it as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire and pestilence. You will have heard before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct of General Gage to those remaining in Boston, in detaining their goods after stipulating to let them go out with their effects, on pretence that merchants' goods were not effects; the defeat of a great body of their troops by the country people at Lexington; some other small advantages gained in skirmishes with their troops, and the action at Bunker's Hill, in which they were twice repulsed, and the third time gained a dear victory. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

We have not yet applied to any foreign power for assistance, nor offered our commerce for their friendship. Perhaps we never may; yet it is natural to think of it if we are pressed.

We have now an army on the establishment, which still holds yours besieged. My time was never more fully occupied. In the morning at six, I am at the committee of safety, appointed by the assembly to put the province in a state of defence; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain, that men can be as diligent with us from zeal, for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states and corrupted old ones.

Great frugality and great industry are now become fashionable here; gentlemen who used to entertain themselves with two or three courses pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Britain, we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops Our

savings in the article of trade amount to near five million sterling per annum.

I shall communicate your letter to Mr. Winthrope; but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leisure for philosophy as myself.

Believe me ever,

B. FRANKLIN.

241. DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

July 4th, 1776. Spark's "Life of George Washington," i. 453.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with one another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience has shown, that mankind are most disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pnrsuiug invariably the same obj-ct evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has utterly refused to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representatives' houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasion on the rights of the people.

He refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalisation of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

For depriving us in many cases of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences.

For suspending our own legislators, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and to do all other acts and things, which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

242. Extract from Washington's Orderly Book.

Spark's "Life of George Washington," ii. 347.

August 23rd, 1776.

The enemy have now landed on Long Island, and the hour is fast approaching on which the honour and success of this army and the safety of our bleeding country will depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty; that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity if you do not acquit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage and spirit have been

traduced by your cruel invaders; though they have found by dear experience at Boston, Charlestown, and other places, what a few brave men contending in their land and in the best of causes, can do against hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool but determined; do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers. It is the General's express orders that if any man attempt to skulk, lie down or retreat without orders, he be instantly shot down as an example. He hopes no such will be found in this army; but on the contrary, that every one for himself resolving to conquer or die, and trusting in the smiles of heaven upon so good a cause, will behave with bravery and resolution. Those who are distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct may depend on being honourably noticed and suitably rewarded; and if this army will but emulate and imitate their brave countrymen in other parts of America, he has no doubt they will by a glorious victory save their country, and acquire to themselves immortal honour.

243. Warren Hastings on his Council.

Minute to his Council. "Selections from State Papers" (ed. G. W. Forrest: Calcutta, 1890), vol. ii. p. 711.

1780.

Why Mr. Wheler has thus repeatedly chosen to join his name to Mr. Francis's in the minute lately delivered to them by the Board, I can neither conjecture, nor seek to know. I can easily conceive Mr. Francis's intention in obtaining this association. But as the rectitude of these acts in Mr. Francis is to be judged upon very different principles from those in which he has a common concern with Mr. Wheler, I shall consider them solely as his, and reply to them accordingly. Indeed I have no doubt of their being all the entire composition of Mr. Francis. They are not the less his by this apparent division of the property; and his name affixed to them gives me the right of regarding them as entirely his.

I did hope that the intimation conveyed in my last minute would have awakened in Mr. Francis's breast, if it were susceptible of such sensations, a consciousness of the faithless part which he was acting towards me. I have been disappointed,

and must now assume a plainer style and a louder tone. In a word, my objections do not lie to the special matter of his minutes, to which I shall separately reply, but to the spirit of opposition which dictated them. I have lately offered various plans for the operations of the war. These have been successively rejected as I have successively amended and endeavoured to accommodate them to Mr. Francis's objections. I had a right to his implicit acquiescence. I have lastly proposed a service requiring immediate execution, and I have freed it from the only objection formally made to it.

In answer, he says that he adheres to the reasons which had before induced him to withhold his consent, and composedly invites me to lay before the Board a complete detail of the plan for conducting the war, a comparative state of the whole of the object with the whole of the means of attaining it, and the final extent of my demands on the Mahrattas, or what concession I would make to them: and he promises to enter into the consideration of these points with the utmost candour. If his design in this inquiry was simply to gain information, I might refer him to the large and confidential discussions in which I have laid all my views open to him, with all the grounds on which they were formed. If his purpose was to enable him to form a more clear or competent judgment of the plans which I have proposed, its object would be lost in the time required for the deliberation. But in truth I do not trust to his promise of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it, and that his sole purpose and wish are to embarrass and defeat every measure which I may undertake or which may tend even to promote the public interests, if my credit is connected with them. Such has been the tendency, and such the manifest spirit of all his actions from the beginning. Almost every measure proposed by me has for that reason had his opposition to it. When carried against his opposition, and too far engaged to be withdrawn, yet even then and in every stage of it, his labours to overcome it have been unremitted; every disappointment and misfortune have been aggravated by him, and every fabricated tale of armies devoted to famine or to massacre have found their first and ready way to his office, where it was known they would meet the most welcome reception. To the same design

may be attributed the annual computations of declining finances and an exhausted treasury ; computations which though made in the time of abundance must verge to truth at last, from the effect of a discordant government, not a constitutional decay. To the same design shall I attribute the policy of accelerating the boded event, and creating an artifical want, by keeping up an useless hoard of treasure, and withholding it from a temporary circulation.

I am aware of the answer which will be made to these imputations and I will anticipate it. Mr. Francis may safely deny them, for they are incapable of positive evidence. He may complain of the injustice or indecency of assuming the interpretation of his thoughts, and assigning intentions to him, upon the reality of which he alone can pronounce with certainty. He may claim an equal right to recriminate upon me, and to pass the same free judgment upon the motives which have influenced my public actions. Against such conclusions I trust that my character will be sufficient to defend me, unless some known instance of it can be produced as a warrant for them, and such I am certain do not exist, either known or unknown.

My authority for the opinions which I have declared concerning Mr. Francis depends upon facts which have passed within my own certain knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experienee of his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and to myself, as the only redress to both, for artifices for which I have been a victim, and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud for which the law has made no provisions is the exposure of it. I proceed to the proofs of my allegation.

In the latter end of the month of February last Mr. Francis concluded with me an engagement of which one Article alone is necessary to the present occasion. It is as follows:

"Mr. Francis will not oppose any measures which the Governor-General shall recommend for the prosecution of the war in which we are supposed to be engaged with the Mahrattas, or for the general support of the present political

system of this Government. Neither will he himself either propose, or vote with any other member who shall propose, any measure that shall be contrary to the Governor-General's opinion on these points."

By the sanction of this engagement, and the liberal professions which accompanied it, I was seduced to part with the friend to whose generous and honourable support steadfastly yielded in a course of six years, I am indebted for the existence of the little power which I have ever possessed in that long and disgraceful period, to throw myself on the mercy of Mr. Francis, and on the desperate hazard of his integrity. It was impossible to afford a stronger demonstration of the good faith with which I entered into this accommodation, nor of my confidence in his, than thus consenting to deprive myself of the means of breaking the engagement on my part, and of preventing the breach of it on his: and surely this difference in our relative situations ought to have impressed him with a sense of what he owed to the delicacy attending it, and have made him dread even an approach towards the precise line of his obligations, by the slightest advantage taken of my inability to repel it: and how much more ought it to have restrained him from the direct transgression of it!

I must now revert to the Article of Mr. Francis's engagement which I have recited above, and to the minutes lately delivered to the Board under the signatures of Messieurs Francis and Wheler. On these I rest the proofs which I have promised of the charge herein preferred against Mr. Francis.

If it shall appear on a fair comparison of these evidences that Mr. Francis has faithfully adhered to his engagements, I have wrongfully accused him. If on the contrary, it shall appear that in violation of these engagements he has opposed any measures which I have recommended for the prosecution of the war in which we are engaged with the Mahrattas, or for the general support of the present political system of this Government, or that he has either himself proposed or joined with another member in proposing a measure contrary to my opinion on these points, my charge is established. I wish to avoid a repetition of the terms of it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

244. An Official Retrospect of the War with America.

King's Speech on opening the Session, December 5, 1782
"Parliamentary History," xxiii. 204–207 (London,
1782. 1814).

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Since the close of the last session, I have employed my whole time in that care and attention which the important and critical conjuncture of affairs required of me.

I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and my people; I have pointed all my views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies.

Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the court of France.

In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own, to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and, that America may be free from those calamities, which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion—language—interest—affections may, and I hope will yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor disposition on my part, shall be wanting. . . .

245. A Criticism of the English Policy in India.

Joseph Price, "The Saddle put on the Right Horse,"
1783. 7, 8, 47, 48 (London, 1783).

The first taste of fame and conquest, which the English officers enjoyed in India, happened on the coast of Coromandel, where the great Clive, and his able master in the art of war, Major-General Lawrence, made the English name terrible. This was soon after followed by the conquest of all the forts and harbours of the pirate Angria, on the Malabar coast. Yet we made conquests rather as auxiliaries, than as principals in the wars; for the Nabobs of Arcot enjoyed the advantages of the first, and the Poonah Mahrattas of the last. Some prize money was made, but no territory held, which produced any thing further than some advantages in trade, and a few districts pawned or pledged to us, for certain sums advanced, the revenue of which was to reimburse the Company for the expenses of the war. Perhaps it would have been as well, if we could have tied ourselves down always to have acted in the same manner, and never lost sight of our first profession of merchants. But armies once raised must be paid; and the sword once drawn, no man hath hitherto been able to foretel, when, or how, it should again become sheathed, in any period of time, or in any part of the world. . . .

There has been something extremely singular and ridiculous, in the whole conduct of the English government, with respect to Bengal. If ever the national banner was displayed in a just and honourable war, that with Surajah ul Dowlah was such; and by the law of nations, to retain conquests acquired in such a war, has hitherto been deemed lawful and right. But the English seem to have been terrified at the idea of their own success. They conquer a country in self-defence, which they hesitate to keep, and want resolution to give up. Create a Nabob, to whom they give a kingdom, and become themselves his pensioners; but finding their idol a compound of tyrannic knave, and despicable fool, they make him a pensioner in his turn, to his son-in-law, Cossim Ally Cawn; but soon after finding Cossim to be all knave without

a particle of fool in his composition, they wish his removal. But had he not been a most dastardly coward, he would have convinced his makers, that he could do without them, and have driven them out of the kingdom to the south, instead of suffering them to drive him to the north. Embarrassed by their own policy, they saw no remedy, but again to fall down and worship the old calf, which they had a second time set up. Meer Jaffier died, and they recognised their sovereign in his second son: and things were running on in the old absurd channel of a double government, when Lord Clive arrived, who reversed the system; instead of continuing the Company pensioners to the Nabob, he made the Nabob a pensioner to the Company. The power now was all their own; but they wanted to hide it from the world, so played the Nabob off as the Punch of the puppet show. This absurd policy, I have heard, was dictated to Lord Clive by the *Ministry*, to avoid involving the nation in disputes with the other European powers whose subjects were settled in Bengal.

246. Letter from Colonel Champion to Mr. Hastings, dated Bisoullee, March 10, 1774.

Quoted by C. J. Fox, "Speeches," iii. 229.

[Colonel Champion was discontented because Hastings had not given him as much political power as he considered his due, and refused him the rank of brigadier-general.]

Dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to send you a short address for the board requesting permission to repair to the presidency, and to beg you will not fail to present it as soon as credible accounts shall arrive of any officer being on the way to Bengal to take the command of the army. Not only do I wish to get down as soon as possible, to put my little affairs in the best order for my return to Europe, but I must be candid enough to unbosom myself to you and confess that the nature of the service and the terms on which I have been employed in this campaign has been inexpressibly disagreeable. The authority given to the vizier over our army has totally absorbed the degree of consequence due to my station. My hands have

been tied up from giving protection or asylum to the miserable. I have a deaf ear to the lamentable case of the widow and fatherless, and shut my eyes against a wanton display of violence and oppression, of inhumanity and cruelty. The Company's interest compelled me, in public, to stifle the workings of my feelings, but I must give them vent in private. Though we had no active part in these base proceedings, yet it is well known that the success of our arms gave him the power of committing these enormities, and I much fear that our being even silent spectators of such deeds, will redound to the dishonour of our nation and impress all Hindustan with the most unfavourable opinion of our government. . . . I wish, my friend, to leave scenes which no one but the merciless rajah can bear without heart-bleeding pain. Relieve me therefore as soon as possible and oblige, dear sir, etc.,

A. CHAMPION.

247. WARREN HASTINGS TO HIS WIFE.

Grier, "Letters of Warren Hastings
CALCUTTA, January 21, 1784. to his Wife," pp. 210, 298.

[Written in anticipation of his resignation.]

I have fulfilled every obligation which I owed to the service and done more than almost any other man against such inducements as I have had to restrain me would have done. But, my Marian, do not entertain hopes of improvement in my fortune. If your love for me is, as I am sure it is, superior to every other wish, you must be content to receive your husband again without other expectations, poor in cash, but rich in credit (at least he hopes so) and in affection unexampled.

LUCKNOW, August 13, 1784.

My whole life has been a sacrifice of my private ease and interests to my public duty; and this requisition may come to me in such a form as to have the force of an obligation. . . . I am thwarted in everything that I undertake by the Members of Council, who do nothing themselves to compensate for what they disable me from performing. I could not stay another year linked with such associates without the certain loss of reputation and the risk of worse.

248. E. Burke on the Rohilla Charge.

June 1, 1786. "Speeches of the Rt. Hon. E. Burke," iii. 251.

As to the charges themselves, excepting in some few points the facts which they contained had been admitted by Mr. Hastings at their bar, in what he had called his defence, but which he had couched and delivered rather in the style of their master than that of the person they were accusing of high crimes and misdemeanours. He read a passage from Mr. Hastings' defence against the charge relative to the transactions at Benares, and dwelt on it as an express avowal of a system of despotism and arbitrary power which Mr. Hastings declared he had uniformly made the rule of his conduct. It was repugnant to any principle of government that he had ever heard of, and most especially when the constitution of the superintending government was free. Mischiefs must necessarily arise from subordinate directors of provinces exercising arbitrary and despotic authority; and highly reproachable indeed was Mr. Hastings' rapacity after money: it was one of the prominent features of his government: and although he had told this house when at the bar that he went out to India with his education but half finished, it was plain he had completed it in Bengal upon the true Indian system. Nor was his unlawful taking of money singly a crime in his mind; but Mr. Hastings having always contrived to make the India Company a party in his rapacious proceedings, was a very great aggravation of it, inasmuch as it cast an odium on the national character, by making a private vice appear to be ascribable to a public feeling. With respect to the circumstances immediately precedent to the commencement of the Rohilla war, during its conduct and progress and subsequent to its conclusion, he felt it necessary to observe that had Mr. Hastings so conducted his government as to leave a country which he found rich and fertile, increased in its cultivation and produce; had he left it to its venerable nobles in possession of their ancient honours and fortunes; its merchants in the pursuit of an improved and advantageous commerce, productive of a still more enlarged return of wealth and usury upon their capital; had he employed its husbandmen in carrying

their victorious ploughshares into deserts and woods and in warring against that destruction, solitude and famine which warred against mankind ; he would in that case have said to the Governor-General: "I inquire not into your particular conduct ; I am satisfied with the result. I want not to know whether you made two or three or five hundred thousand pounds ; keep what you have got : you have made a numerous people rich and happy ; you have increased the commerce of the country, enlarged its means of wealth and improved its revenues ; in so doing you have reflected glory and honour on the character of the British nation." Just such a people had the Rohillas been previous to their extermination ; but, alas ! they were now banished and their country is no longer that luxuriant garden which every spot of it had been before the Rohilla war. He gave a history of the origin and life of Sujah Dowlah and Cossim Ally Khan and entered into an ample statement of the affair of Nundcomar, and of all the facts contained in the charge ; remarking that Sir Robert Barker had been offered £500,000 and the remission of an annuity of £250,000 due from the Company before Mr. Hastings came out, only for employing the British Brigade in the conquest of a small part of the Rohillas belonging to Haffez Ramet ; and that Mr. Hastings had undertaken to extirpate the whole nation or tribe for £400,000.

249. C. J. Fox on the Rohilla Charge.

June 1, 1786. "Speeches of the Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox," iii. 224.

As for this war of the Rohillas, it has appeared to all the world so wholly unjustifiable, that there has not been found among any set of men any person that could defend it. If it shall be supported by a British House of Commons, it will be the greatest misfortune that can befall this nation.

The determination of this night will be attended to by all Europe. The nations around us will form upon it their future measures with regard to their powers in India ; and may justly presage the total loss of all confidence in the justice of this nation in that part of the world. What must be thought by our government in India. The rule held out to them they

must no doubt consider as that by which they are in future to direct their conduct.

It was said that if we guaranteed Sujah Dowlah we ought to follow him to the extent of what he proposed, and that there was no medium between forfeiting our task as guarantees and joining with him in the destruction of the Rohillas. This is indeed horrid policy! Instead of acting the part of an equitable umpire and mediator, what is it but to countenance and assist barbarous vengeance and rapacity? . . .

If anything similar to this of which we are speaking were to happen in Europe, how great would be the cry against it. If Great Britain were to guarantee a truce between the Emperor and the Dutch in which they stipulated to pay a certain sum of money to the Emperor and afterwards were to refuse to perform this, we ought, according to this reasoning, to join with the Emperor in the complete conquest of Holland. A noble lord (Malgrave) has indeed most sagaciously asked, what in such a situation is a Governor of India to do; is he to consult Puffendorf and Grotius? No. But I will tell him what he is to consult—the laws of nature—not the statutes to be found in those books, nor in any books—but those laws which are to be found in Europe, Africa, and Asia—that are found amongst all mankind, those principles of equity and humanity implanted in our hearts which have their existence in the feelings of mankind that are capable of judging.

I have compared the conquest of the Dutch to the case of the Rohillas, but it was more than a conquest. The word extermination has been used; but if the meaning of it be that every man, woman and child was put to death, Mr. Hastings is not guilty of so enormous a crime. Suffer me to make use of an example that may come home more to your feelings; and that is with regard to Ireland. The English are not above one-ninth of the inhabitants of that country, but they possess all the power, together with the greater part of the property and landed estates of it. Were a French army to come and take possession of Ireland and say to the English, "You are a set of robbers, those lands do not belong to you; you are usurpers and you came here under the greatest usurper in the world" (for I believe that most of the English families

settled in Ireland in the time of Oliver Cromwell)—what difference would there be in an act of that kind and what has been done to the Rohillas? Only this—the Rohillas had been in possession fifty years and the English one hundred and fifty. No one, I believe, will think that the time could make any material difference; but if this was done by an enemy it could only be done under the pretence of restoring the country to its ancient masters. With regard to the Rohillas, this is not the case—in other respects the case would not be dissimilar. If all the English were extirpated from Ireland, the manufacturers, the ploughmen, and the labourers would still be left, but I believe no one would say that there would not be great hardship in such case, great injustice, great cruelty. . . .

A great deal of argument has been made use of with regard to the guarantee, it is said, we entered into. I own I think very differently from most people on this particular point. I think it necessary to consider first if the agreement was a guarantee: I think not.

Hastings was guilty, if it was no guarantee; if it was one I think he is most guilty. But it was no guarantee. Sir Robert Barker, who signed the treaty alluded to, had no powers for this purpose. He himself thought it no guarantee. The Board thought it no guarantee. In truth they could not enter into one, not even Mr. Hastings himself, without contradicting in the most express manner the very opinions he was at that time strongly expressing to be the directors of his conduct.

250. INDUSTRIES AND PRICES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Arthur Young, "A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales," p 130 (London, 1769).

Witney is very famous for its woollen manufactory, which consists of what they call kersey pieces, coarse bear skins, and blankets. The two first they make for the North American market; vast quantities being sent up the river St. Lawrence and likewise to New York. Their finest blankets, which rise in price to £3 a pair, are exported to Spain and Portugal; but all are sent to London first, in broad-wheel waggons, of

which four or five go every week. The finest wools they work come from Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and sell from 8d. to 10d. a pound. The coarsest from *Lincolnshire*; they call it daglodes; they sell for 4½d. *per lb.*, and are used for making the coarse bear skins. There are above 500 weavers in this town who work up 7000 packs of wool annually. Journeymen, in general on an average, can earn from 10s. to 12s. a week all the year round, both summer and winter; but they work from four to eight, and in winter by candle-light; the work is of that nature that a boy of fourteen earns as much as a man. One of seven or eight earns by quilling and cornering 1s. 6d. and 1s. 8d. a week, and girls the same. Old women of sixty and seventy earn 6d. a day in picking and sorting the wool; a good stout woman can earn from 10d. to 1s. a day by spinning, and a girl of fourteen 4d. or 5d.

251. Cloth Manufacture in the West Riding.

Arthur Young, "A Six Months' Tour through the North of England," vol. i. p. 131 (London, 1771).

The country between Wakefield and Leeds continues very beautiful; but the roads stony and very ill-made. At this town, but more in the neighbourhood, is carried on a vast manufacturing trade; Leeds cloth market is well known, and has often been described. They make chiefly broad cloths from 1s. 8d. a yard to 12s., but mostly of 4s. 6d. and 5s. Good hands at this branch would earn about 10s. 6d. a week the year round, if they were fully employed; but as it is, cannot make above 8s. This difference of 2s. 6d. is a melancholy consideration. A boy of thirteen or fourteen, about 4s. a week; some women earn by weaving as much as the men. The men at what they call the offal work, which is the inferior branches, such as picking, rinting, etc., are paid 1d. an hour. . . . The spinning trade is constant, women earn about 2s. 6d. or 3s. a week. Girls of thirteen or fourteen earn 1s. 8d. a week. A boy of eight or nine at ditto 2½d. a day; of six years old 1d. a day. The business of this town flourished greatly during the war, but sunk much at the peace, and continued very languid till within these two years, when it began to rise again.

PROVISIONS, ETC.

Much oat bread eat, 10 or 11 ounces for 1d.

Butter	8d. per lb., 18 or 19 ounces.		
Cheese	4d.	Pork	4d.
Mutton	4d.	Bacon	7d.
Beef	4d.	Veal	2½d.

Milk, a pint in summer ½d., in winter 1½d. and 1d.
Manufacturer's house rent, 40s.
Their firing 20s.

252. COAL-MINING AND IRON MANUFACTURE.

Young, "A Six Months' Tour," vol. iii. p. 8.

The people employed in the coal mines are prodigiously numerous, amounting to many thousands; the earnings of the men are from 1s. to 4s. a day and their firing. The coal-waggon roads, from the pits to the water, are great works, carried over all sorts of inequalities of ground, so far as the distance of nine or ten miles. The tracks of the wheels are marked with pieces of timber let into the road, for the wheels of the waggons to run on, by which means one horse is enabled to draw, and that with ease, fifty or sixty bushels of coal. There are many other branches of business that have much carriage in a regular track, that greatly want this improvement, which tends so considerably to the lowering the expenses of carriage.

About five miles from Newcastle are the iron works, . . . supposed to be among the greatest manufactories of the kind in Europe. Several hundred hands are employed in it, in so much that £20,000 a year is paid in wages. They earn from 1s. to 2s. 6d. a day, and some of the foremen so high as £200 a year. The quantity of iron they work up is very great, employing three ships to the Baltic, that each makes ten voyages yearly, and brings seventy ton at a time.

. . . In general their work is for exportation, and are employed very considerably by the East India Company: they have of late had a prodigious artillery demand from that Company.

During the war their business was extremely great; it was

worse upon the peace; but for anchors and mooring chains the demand these last seven or eight years has been very regular and spirited. Their business, however, for some time past, has not been equal to what it was in the war.

253. The Supply of Timber.

Rev. A. Young, "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex," p. 84 (London, 1793).

Sussex has long been celebrated for the growth of its timber, principally oak. No other county can equal it in this respect, either in quantity or quality. It overspreads the Weald in every direction, where it flourishes with a great degree of luxuriance. . . . Large quantities of beech are raised upon the chalk hills, which tree also flourishes in great perfection. The great demand for oak bark has, of late years, been the cause of the large falls of oak, which has, in consequence of the high price of bark, risen so amazingly, that the fee simple of extensive and well-wooded tracks, has been paid by the fall of timber and underwood in two or three years. Upon some estates in the western part of the county, the value of oak has increased 100 per cent. in twelve years. When to this amazing increase in the value of wood is added the more easy communication to seaports than formerly from the improvements which have taken place in the roads, it is not surprising that the late falls have been so large, and that greater supplies have been brought to the dockyards than the country will be able in future permanently to supply. The quantity now standing, of a size fit for the Royal Navy, compared to what it has been within half a century, is inconsiderable, and as there is no regular succession in reserve, it must follow that the supply will annually grow less.

254. Agricultural Wages and Prices.

"General View," p. 88.

The price of labour in Sussex is according to the situation. The standard price is much lower on the western side of the county than on the eastern. Here within half a century it has advanced full 30 per cent.

A table of the average prices of labour and provisions in Sussex is subjoined.

	£	s.	d.
In Winter	0	1	5
„ Summer	0	1	9
„ Harvest	0	2	4¾
Reaping Wheat	0	8	5¼
„ Oats	0	1	8¾
„ Barley	0	1	8¾
„ Peas	0	3	1¾
Mowing Grain	0	2	2¾
„ Clover	0	1	6¾
Hoeing Turnips	0	6	0¼
Threshing Wheat	0	2	7½
„ Barley	0	1	6¼
„ Oats	0	1	2
„ Peas	0	1	9¾
Women in Winter	0	0	6½
„ Summer	0	0	7½
„ Harvest	0	0	10
Yearly Earnings	28	8	10½
Rent of Cottage	2	16	1

The reaping, mowing, hoeing by the acre, threshing by the quarter.

Table of the Average Price of Provisions, etc., in Sussex, 1793

	£	s.	d.
Flour per gallon	0	0	11¾
Peck loaf	0	1	1¾
Cheese per lb.	0	0	6
Butter per lb.	0	0	8¾
Pork per lb.	0	0	7½
Bacon per lb.	0	0	7
Malt per bushel	0	6	4½
Brush faggots per load (*i.e.* 100 faggots)	1	0	8
Potatoes per bushel	0	1	6
Cord wood	1	0	8

255. Wages in 1795.

Sir F. Eden, "The State of the Poor," vol. i. pp. 571, 572, 574 (London, 1797).

Northumberland.

About 60 years ago, reapers, in this county, received 4d. a day and victuals; 40 years ago, they received 6d. a day, and diet; these wages continued for several years much the same. A. Young, in his *Northern Tour*, states agricultural wages to have been, 30 years ago, from 5s. 2d. to 8s. 9d.—(Lett. xxxi.). Wages kept advancing, irregularly, till last year, when they were generally 2s. a day, without victuals. An old tailor in the neighbourhood of Morpeth, who is now upwards of 90, says, that when he was between 20 and 30 years of age, 4d. per day were the common wages for men in his line of business, with diet: that, a few years afterwards, they rose to 6d., which were the highest day-wages he ever took for sewing: common tailors in Morpeth now receive 1s. a day, and their victuals. He adds, that although the usual day's pay for a reaper, when he was young, was 4d., he and a partner, being remarkably good reapers, demanded 6d. the day, which their employer at last agreed to give, although his wife grumbled at what she thought was extravagance: however to reconcile matters, the tailor proposed that he and his partner should do as much work in a day as three of the farmer's best reapers usually performed; which was assented to. Common labourers, 60 years ago, barely received 4d. a day, and victuals: they have now 10s. a week, with a house and fuel, but no board. Spinners of wool, 30 years ago, had 2d. a day and board: they have now 4d. a day, and victuals. About 50 years ago, they only received 9d. a week and diet. Women, working in the fields, as weeders, etc., 30 years ago had 4d. a day, without diet: they have now double that sum. Masons, in Newcastle, 40 years ago, were paid 1s. 4d. and 1s. 6d. a day: they now receive 2s. 6d. and 2s. 9d. A mason's labourer, 40 years ago, had 1s.; he has now 1s. 6d a day.

Oxfordshire.

Nuneham.—The ordinary wages of labourers are: for men, 8s. the week; and 12s. the week in harvest, together with three

pints of beer: women, in common, have 3s. the week; and 6s. in harvest: children, above 9 years of age, can earn from 1s. to 3s. the week. Men, by ordinary work, can earn from 10s. to 12s. the week; and from 16s. to 18s. in harvest. Each cottage has a small garden, which supplies the family with potatoes. A considerable quantity is also distributed among the poor, every winter, by Lord Harcourt. He likewise allows such families as behave well, a guinea a year for every fourth child, till the child is ten years old; and when it goes to service, some clothes are usually given. Poor families are also enabled to send their children to school, without any expense: and various other charities are bestowed by Lord and Lady Harcourt on the parish. Every parishioner is allowed to purchase flour, one-third of barley, and two-thirds of wheat at 7d. the quartern-loaf; and to buy at this price as many half-peck loaves, every week, as there are persons in the family. Such flour, as the above, is sold them at 2s. 4d. the peck: potatoes cost 2s. the bushel; bacon, 9d. the lb.; and meat, 5d. the lb.

Yorkshire.

East Riding—Neighbourhood of Hornsey.—Common wages with diet, from Martinmas to Lady-day, 5s. the week; ditto, from Lady-day to Midsummer, 6s.; ditto, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 9s.; ditto, from Michaelmas to Martinmas, 6s. Common wages, without diet, 9s. the week, in winter; and 12s. in summer. In harvest, men receive 12s. and 14s. the week, and victuals; and women 6s. and 7s. the week, with beer, but no meat. There is very constant employment in the winter. The labourers are, in general, supplied by their employers with corn, etc., much below the market price. The rents of cottages vary according to the quantity of land annexed; and are from £1 to £1 10s. Many of the cottages on this coast are miserable hovels, built of mud and straw. Such habitations are sometimes granted by the parish to poor families; and sometimes the parishes supply their poor inhabitants with fuel. Many cottagers cultivate potatoes in their garths and gardens: some have a pig; and a few keep cows.

From the preceding statements, the reader will, I trust, be enabled to form some general idea of the present condition and

circumstances of the labouring classes of the community. That they have, during the last two years, been subjected to great distress, from a rise, unexampled within the present century, in the price of the necessaries of life, every one will readily acknowledge. It is not, however, from a view of their situation, in a period of scarcity, that we are to estimate the comparative ability of a man to support himself by his labour, in modern, and in ancient times. Still less is a period of War to be selected, as the moment of ascertaining the ordinary comforts and gratifications of the peasant or working manufacturer. It does not fall within my plan to enter into minute comparative estimates relative to the progress of society in England; but there can be little doubt that the ten years ending in January 1793, exhibit the most flattering appearances, in every circumstance that has been considered, by political economists, as demonstrative of national prosperity. The demand for employment, and a subsequent advance in income, have risen in a progressive ratio: and to those who investigate the state of the nation, without a disposition to blame the present, and admire the past which too often influences even "persons endued with the profoundest judgment, and most extensive learning," both these and other symptoms of increasing industry and wealth must have been perfectly satisfactory. It may, indeed, be contended, that the rapid advance in the Poor's Rate, is an unequivocal proof of the inability of labourers to maintain themselves on the ordinary wages of labour. But before this can be admitted, it should be proved, that more persons are maintained by the present Poor's Rate, which probably exceeds three million sterling, than were by half that sum twenty years ago. Even allowing this to be the fact, it by no means proves that the able-bodied labourer, whom it has been the fashion of late years, upon benevolent, though mistaken, principles of policy, to quarter on the parish, would, if unassisted by the overseer, have been unable to benefit himself, whilst his employer was getting riches by his labour.

256. Captain Berry's Narrative of the Battle of the Nile.

August 1, 1798. J. K. Laughton's "Nelson's Letters and Despatches," p. 151.

The destination of the French armament was involved in doubt and uncertainty; but it forcibly struck the admiral that as it was commanded by the man whom the French had dignified with the title of the conqueror of Italy and as he had with him a very large body of troops, an expedition had been planned which the land force might execute without the aid of their fleet should the transports be permitted to make their escape, and reach in safety their place of rendezvous; it therefore became a material consideration with the admiral so to arrange his force as at once to engage the whole attention of their ships of war and at the same time materially to annoy and injure their convoy. It will be fully admitted, from the subsequent information which has been received on the subject, that the ideas of the admiral upon this occasion were perfectly just, and that the plan which he had arranged was the most likely to frustrate the design of the enemy. It is almost unnecessary to explain his projected mode of attack at anchor, as that was minutely and precisely executed in the action which we now come to describe. These plans, however, were formed two months before an opportunity presented itself of executing any of them, and the advantage now was, that they were familiar to the understanding of every captain in the fleet.

It has been already mentioned that we saw the Pharos of Alexandria at noon on August 1. The Alexander and the Swiftsure had been detached ahead on the preceding evening, to reconnoitre the ports of Alexandria, while the main body of the squadron kept in the offing. The enemy's fleet was first discovered by the zealous Captain Hood, who immediately communicated by signal, the number of ships, sixteen, lying at anchor in line of battle, in a bay upon the larboard bow, which we afterwards found to be Aboukir Bay. The Admiral hauled his wind that instant, a movement which was immediately observed and followed by the whole squadron; and at the same time he recalled the Alexander and the Swiftsure. The wind

at this time was N.N.W. and blew what seamen call a top-gallant breeze. It was necessary to take in the royals when we hauled upon wind. The admiral made the signal to prepare for battle and that it was his intention to attack the enemy's van centre, as they lay at anchor, and according to the plan before developed. His idea in this disposition of his force was first to secure the victory and then to make the most of it according to future circumstances. A bower cable of each ship was immediately got out abaft and bent forward. We continued carrying sail and standing in for the enemy's fleet in a close line of battle. As all the officers of our squadron were totally unacquainted with Aboukir Bay, each ship kept sounding as she stood in. The enemy appeared to be moored in a strong and compact line of battle close in with the shore, their line describing an obtuse angle in its form, flanked by numerous gunboats, four frigates and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. This situation of the enemy seemed to secure to them the most decided advantages as they had nothing to attend to but their artillery, in their superior skill in the use of which the French so much pride themselves and to which indeed their splendid series of land victories are in a great measure to be imputed.

The position of the enemy presented the most formidable obstacles, but the admiral viewed these with the eye of a seaman determined on attack, and it instantly struck his eager and penetrating mind that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing there was room for one of ours to anchor. No further signal was necessary than those which had already been made. The admiral's designs were as fully known to his whole squadron as was his determination to conquer or perish in the attempt. The Goliath and the Zealous had the honour to lead inside and to receive the first fire from the van ships of the enemy as well as from the batteries and gunboats with which their van was strengthened. These two ships with the Orion, Audacious and Theseus, took their stations inside of the enemy's line and were immediately in close action. The Vanguard anchored the first on the outer side of the enemy and was opposed within half pistol-shot to Le Spartiate, the third in the enemy's line. In standing in our leading ships

were unavoidably obliged to receive into their bows the whole fire of the broadsides of the French line, until they could take their respective stations; and it is but justice to observe that the enemy received us with great firmness and deliberation, no colours having been hoisted on either side nor a gun fired till our van ships were within half gunshot. At this time the necessary number of our men were employed aloft in furling sails and on deck in hauling the braces, etc., preparatory to our casting anchor. As soon as this took place a most animated fire was opened from the Vanguard, which ship followed. The approach of those in the rear which were following in a straight line, the Minotaur, Defence, Bellerophon, Majestic, Swiftsure and Alexander came up in succession, and passing within hail of the Vanguard, took their respective stations opposed to the enemy's line. All our ships anchored by the stern, by which means the British line became inverted from van to rear. Captain Thompson of the Leander, of fifty guns, with a degree of skill and intrepidity highly honourable to his professional character, advanced towards the enemy's line on the outside, and most judiciously dropped his anchor athwart hawse of Le Franklin, raking her with great success, the shot from the Leander's broadside which passed that ship all striking L'Orient, the flagship of the French commander-in-chief.

The action commenced at sunset, which was at 6.31 P.M., with an ardour and vigour which it is impossible to describe. At about seven o'clock total darkness had come on, but the whole hemisphere was with intervals illuminated by the fire of the hostile fleets. Our ships, when darkness came on, had all hoisted their distinguishing lights, by a signal from the admiral. The van ship of the enemy, Le Guerrier, was dismasted in less than twelve minutes, and in ten minutes after the second ship, Le Conquérant, and the third, Le Spartiate, very nearly at the same moment were also dismasted . . . L'Aquilon and Le Peuple Souverain, the fourth and fifths ships of the enemy's line, were taken possession of by the British at half-past eight in the evening. Captain Berry at that hour sent Lieutenant Galway of the Vanguard with a party of marines to take possession of Le Spartiate, and that officer returned by the boat the French

captain's sword, which Captain Berry immediately delivered to the admiral, who was then below in consequence of the severe wound which he had received in his head during the heat of the attack. At this time it appeared that victory had already declared itself in our favour, for although L'Orient, L'Heureux, and Le Tonnant were not taken possession of they were considered as completely in our power, which pleasing intelligence Captain Berry had likewise the satisfaction of communicating in person to the admiral.

At ten minutes after nine a fire was observed on board L'Orient, the French admiral's ship, which seemed to proceed from the after part of the cabin, and which increased with great rapidity, presently involving the whole of the after part of the ship in flames. This circumstance Captain Berry immediately communicated to the admiral who, though suffering severely from his wound, came up on deck, where the first consideration that struck his mind was concern for the danger of so many lives, to save as many as possible of whom he ordered Captain Berry to make every practicable exertion. A boat, the only one that could swim, was instantly despatched from the Vanguard, and other ships that were in a condition to do so immediately followed the example; by which means from the best possible information the lives of about seventy Frenchmen were saved. The light thrown by the fire of L'Orient upon the surrounding objects enabled us to observe with more certainty the situation of the two fleets, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. The cannonading was partially kept up to leeward of the centre till about ten o'clock, when L'Orient blew up with a most tremendous explosion. An awful pause and death-like silence for about three minutes ensued, when the wreck of the masts, yards, etc., which had been carried to a vast height fell down into the water and on board the surrounding ships. A port fire from L'Orient fell into the main royal of the Alexander, the fire occasioned by which was however extinguished in about two minutes by the active exertions of Captain Bell.

After this awful scene the firing was recommenced, with the ships to leeward of the centre, till twenty minutes past ten, when there was a total cessation of firing for about ten minutes;

after which it was revived till about three in the morning, when it again ceased.

257. An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

40 Geo. III. c. 67, 1800.

Whereas in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of the parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved that in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom. Both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for . . . establishing the said purpose, in the terms following:

Article First. . . . that the said Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January that shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Article Third. . . . That the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Article Fourth. . . . That four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation . . . and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the United Kingdom; and 100 commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most

considerable cities, towns and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

Article Fifth. . . . That the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal Church, to be called, The United Church of England and Ireland; and that the doctrine . . . and government of the said united Church shall be, and shall remain in force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and the continuance and preservation of the said united church as the established church of England and Ireland shall be deemed . . . to be an essential part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine and government of the church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law and by the Acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Article Sixth. That his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall . . . be entitled to the same privileges and be on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties of the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all parts and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his Majesty . . . with any foreign powers, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges and be on the same footing, as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

258. Memorandum on the Treaty of Bassein. By Sir Arthur Wellesley.

1804. "Despatches of the Duke of Wellington," ii. 430.

European governments were, till very lately, guided by certain rules and systems of policy, so accurately defined and generally known, that it was scarcely possible to suppose a political event, in which the interest and conduct of each state would not be as well known to the *corps diplomatique* in general, as to the statesmen of each particular state

The Asiatic governments do not acknowledge and hardly know of such rules and systems. Their governments are arbitrary, the objects of their policy are always shifting; they have no regular established system, the effect of which is to protect the weak against the strong: on the contrary, the object of each of them separately, and of all of them taken collectively, is to destroy the weak; and if by chance they should, by a sense of common danger, be induced for a season to combine their efforts for their mutual defence, the combination lasts only so long as it is attended with success, the first reverse dissolves it; and, at all events, it is dissolved long before the danger ceases, the apprehension of which originally caused it.

There cannot be a stronger proof of this defect of policy in the Asiatic governments than the dissolution of the combination of the year 1790, between the English, the Marhattas, and the Nizam, by the attack of the Marhattas upon the Nizam in the year 1795.

These observations apply to the government of the Marhattas more than to any other of the Asiatic governments. Their schemes and systems of policy are the wildest of any. They undertake expeditions, not only without viewing their remote consequences upon other states, or upon their own, but without considering more than the chance of success of the immediate expedition in contemplation.

The Company's government in India, the other contracting party to their alliance, is one bound by all the rules and systems of European policy. The Company's power in India is supposed to depend much upon its reputation: and although I do not admit that it depends upon its reputation, as distinguished from its real force, as appears to be contended by some, I may say that it is particularly desirable for a government so constituted as the Company's, never to enter upon any particular object, the probable result of which should not be greatly in favour of success.

Besides this, the Company's government in India is bound by Acts of Parliament not to undertake wars of aggression, not to make any but defensive alliances, and those only in cases in which the other contracting party shall bind itself to defend

the possessions of the Company actually threatened with hostilities.

The Company's government in India are also connected with His Majesty's Government, and, as an Asiatic power, are liable to be involved in wars with European powers, possessing territories in India, whenever His Majesty shall be at war with those powers.

The picture above drawn of the state of politics among Asiatic powers proves that no permanent system can be adopted, which will preserve the weak against the strong, and will keep all for any length of time in their relative situations, and the whole in peace; excepting there should be one power which either by the superiority of its strength, its military system, or its resources, shall preponderate and be able to protect all.

259. Nelson's Memorandum before the Battle of Trafalgar.

Nicolas, "Despatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson," vii. 89.

Victory, off Cadiz, 9th Oct. 1805.

Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of forty sail of the line into a line of battle in variable winds, thick weather and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the battle decisive, I have therefore made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing (with the exception of the first and second in command) that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, placing the fleet in two lines of sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of the fastest sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of twenty-four sail, on whichever line the commander-in-chief may direct. The second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his line to make the attack upon the enemy and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed.

If the enemy's fleet should be seen to windward in line of

battle, and that the two lines and the advanced squadron can fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear. I should therefore probably make the second in command's signal to lead through about their twelfth ship from their rear (or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced); my line would cut through about their centre, and the advanced squadron to cut through three or four ships ahead of their centre so as to insure getting at their commander in chief, whom every effort must be made to capture. The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower from two or three ships ahead of their commander in chief supposed to be in the centre to the rear of their fleet. I will suppose twenty of the enemy's line to be untouched; it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet engaged or to succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. The enemy's fleet is supposed to consist of forty-six sail of the line, British fleet of forty. If either is less, only a proportionate number of enemy's ships are to be cut off; British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off.

Something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea fight beyond all others. Shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes, but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear, and then that the British fleet would most of them be ready to receive their twenty sail of the line or to pursue them should they endeavour to make off.

If the van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet; if the enemy wears, the British must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled British ships; and should the enemy close, I have no fears as to the result.

. . . . . .

Of the intended attack from windward, the enemy in line of battle ready to receive an attack:

The divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre. The signal will most probably then be made for the lee line to bear up together, to

set all their sails, even steering sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning from the twelfth ship from the enemy's rear. Some ships may not get through their exact place, but any will always be at hand to assist their friends, and if any are thrown round the rear of the enemy, they will effectually complete the business of twelve sail of the enemy.

Should the enemy wear together, or bear up and sail large, still the twelve ships composing, in the first position, the enemy's rear are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless otherwise directed from the commander in chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire management of the lee line, after the intentions of the commander in chief are signified, is intended to be left to the judgment of the admiral commanding that line.

The remainder of the enemy's fleet, thirty-four sail, are to be left to the management of the commander in chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in command are as little interrupted as possible.

260. Extract from the Eurydalus's Log.

21 Oct. 1805. "Despatches," vii. 205.

A.M. At 10 observed the enemy wearing, and coming to the wind on the larboard tack. At 11.40 repeated Lord Nelson's telegraph message, "I intend to push or go through the end of the enemy's line to prevent them from getting into Cadiz." Saw the land bearing E. by N. five or six leagues. At 11.56 repeated Lord Nelson's telegraph message, "England expects that every man will do his duty." At noon light winds and a great swell from the westward; observed the Royal Sovereign, Admiral Collingwood, leading the lee line, bearing down on the enemy's rear line, being then nearly within gunshot of them; Lord Nelson leading the weather line, bore down on the enemy's centre. Captain Blackwood returned from the Victory—Cape Trafalgar S.E. by E. about five leagues.

261. VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD TO W. MARSDEN.

22 Oct. 1805. "Despatches," vii. 212.

The ever to be lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who in the late conflict with the enemy fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that on the 19th instant it was communicated to the commander in chief from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the straits entrance with the British Squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his Lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements has been highly meritorious) that they had not yet passed the straits.

On Monday the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west and very light; the commander in chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. . . . The enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish), commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, wore, with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new—it formed a crescent convexing to leeward—so that in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared when on their beam to leave very little interval between them; and this without crowding their ships. Admiral

Villeneuve was in Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

As the mode of attack had been previously determined on and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary and none were made except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The commander in chief in the Victory led the weather column; and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee.

The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, the commander in chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns, the conflict was severe. The enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers, but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About 3 P.M. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten ships joining their frigates to leeward, stood toward Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others of them went off, leaving to his Majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna) with three flag officers, viz., Admiral Villeneuve, the commander in chief; Don Ignatio Maria d'Alava, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the various commanders, the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same. When all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand

recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the commander in chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend to whom by many years' intimacy and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought: his Lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast about the middle of the action and sent an officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired.

262. The Berlin Decree.

Text trans. by J. H. Robinson (Philadelphia, 1897), the "Univ. Translations and Reprints," vol. ii, No. 2.

From our Imperial Camp at Berlin, November 21, 1806.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, in consideration of the fact:

1. That England does not recognise the system of international law universally observed by all civilised nations.

2. That she regards as an enemy every individual belonging to the enemy's state, and consequently makes prisoners of war not only of the crews of armed ships of war but of the crews of ships of commerce and merchantmen and even of commercial agents and of merchants travelling on business.

3. That she extends to the vessels and commercial wares and to the property of individuals the right of conquest, which is applicable only to the possessions of the belligerent power.

4. That she extends to unfortified towns and commercial ports, to harbours and the mouths of rivers, the right of

blockade, which, in accordance with reason and the customs of all civilised nations, is applicable only to strong places. That she declares places in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship of war, although a place may not be blockaded except it be so completely guarded that no attempt to approach it can be made without imminent danger. That she has declared districts in a state of blockade which all her united forces would be unable to blockade, such as entire coasts and the whole of an empire.

5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other aim than to prevent communication among the nations and to raise the commerce and the industry of England upon the ruins of that of the continent.

6. That since this is the obvious aim of England, whoever deals of the continent in English goods, thereby favours and renders himself an accomplice of her designs.

7. That this policy of England, worthy of the earliest stages of barbarism, has profited that power to the detriment of every other nation.

8. That it is a natural right to oppose such arms against an enemy as he makes use of, and to combat in the same way as he combats. Since England has disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment, due to the civilisation among mankind, we have resolved to apply to her the usages which she has ratified in her maritime legislation.

The provisions of the present decree shall continue to be looked upon as embodying the fundamental principles of the Empire until England shall recognise that the law of war is one and the same on land and sea, and that the rights of war cannot be extended so as to include private property of any kind or the persons of individuals unconnected with the profession of arms and that the right of blockade shall be restricted to fortified places actually invested by sufficient forces.

We have consequently decreed and do decree that which follows:

ARTICLE I.—The British Isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

ART. II.—All commerce and all correspondence with the

British Isles is forbidden. Consequently letters or packages directed to England or to an Englishman or written in the English language shall not pass through the mails and shall be seized.

ART. III.—Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever state or condition he may be, who shall be discovered in any country occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

ART. IV.—All warehouses, merchandise or property of whatever kind belonging to a subject of England shall be regarded as a lawful prize.

ART. V.—Trade in English goods is prohibited, and all goods belonging to England or coming from her factories or her colonies are declared a lawful prize.

ART. VI.—Half of the products resulting from the confiscation of the goods and possessions declared a lawful prize by the preceding articles shall be applied to indemnify the merchants for the losses they have experienced by the capture of merchant vessels taken by English cruisers.

ART. VII.—No vessel coming directly from England or from the English colonies or which shall have visited these since the publication of the present decree shall be received in any port.

ART. VIII.—Any vessel contravening the above provision by a false declaration shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo shall be confiscated as if it were English property.

ART. IX.—Our Court of Prizes at Paris shall pronounce final judgment in all cases arising in our Empire or in the countries occupied by the French Army relating to the execution of the present decree. Our Court of Prizes at Milan shall pronounce final judgment in the said cases which may arise within our Kingdom of Italy.

ART. X.—The present decree shall be communicated by our minister of foreign affairs to the King of Spain, of Naples, of Holland and of Etruria, and to our other allies whose subjects like ours are the victims of the unjust and barbarous maritime legislation of England.

ART. XI.—Our ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of the navy, of finance and of the police, and our Directors General

of the part are charged with the execution of the present decree so far as it affects them.

(Signed)
NAPOLEON.

Done by the Emperor,
HUGUE MARET,
Ministerial Secretary of State.

263. PURCHASING A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

Sir Samuel Romilly, "Memoirs" (London, 1840), ii. 200–202.

June 27th, 1807.

I shall procure myself a seat in the new Parliament, unless I find that it will cost so large a sum, as, in the state of my family, it would be very imprudent for me to devote to such an object, which I find is very likely to be the case. Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seats to be disposed of. After a Parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose, that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them would be very cheap; they are, however, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney tells me that he has offered 10,000*l.* for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors, and has met with a refusal. 6000*l.* and 5,500*l.* have been given for seats with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the King's death, or by any change of administration. The truth is, that the new Ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H. ——, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to Ministers. With what money all this is done I know not, but it is supposed that the King, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration, the favourite objects of his choice, has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse.

This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be

an independent man, can get into Parliament. To come in by a popular election, in the present state of the representation, is quite impossible; to be placed there by some great lord, and to vote as he shall direct, is to be in a state of complete dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune. It is true that many men who buy seats, do it as a matter of pecuniary speculation, as a profitable way of employing their money; they carry on a political trade; they buy their seats, and sell their votes. For myself, I can truly say that, by giving money for a seat, I shall make a sacrifice of my private property, merely that I may be enabled to serve the public. I know what danger there is of men's disguising from themselves the real motives of their actions; but it really does appear to me that it is from this motive alone that I act.

May 9th. After almost despairing of being able to get any seat in Parliament, my friend Piggott has at last procured me one; and the Duke of Norfolk has consented to bring me in for Horsham. It is however but a precarious seat. I shall be returned, as I shall have a majority of votes, which the late committee of the House of Commons decided to be good ones; but there will be a petition against the return, by the candidates who will stand on Lady Irwin's interest, and it is extremely doubtful what will be the event of the petition. . . .

12th. The terms upon which I have my seat at Horsham will be best explained by a letter I wrote to Piggott to-day after the election was over, and which I am glad to keep a copy of. "If I keep the seat, either by the decision of a committee upon a petition, or by a compromise (the Duke and Lady Irwin returning one member each, in which case it is understood that I am to be the member who continues), I am to pay 2000*l.*; if, upon a petition, I lose the seat, I am not to be at any expense."

264. Catholic Emancipation.

1808. Sydney Smith, "Peter Plymley's Letters," ii. Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith (London, 1859), i. 140–142.

. . . I have been in every corner of Ireland, and have studied its present strength and condition with no common

labour. Be assured Ireland does not contain at this moment less than five millions of people. There were returned in the year 1791 to the hearth tax 701,000 houses, and there is no kind of question that there were about 50,000 houses omitted in that return. Taking, however, only the number returned for the tax, and allowing the average of six to a house (a very small average for a potato-fed people), this brings the population to 4,200,000 people in the year 1791: and it can be shown from the clearest evidence (and Mr. Newenham in his book shows it), that Ireland for the last fifty years has increased in its population at the rate of 50,000 or 60,000 per annum; which leaves the present population of Ireland at about five millions, after every possible deduction for *existing circumstances, just and necessary wars, monstrous and unnatural rebellions*, and other sources of human destruction. Of this population two out of ten are Protestants; and the half of the Protestant population are Dissenters, and as inimical to the Church as the Catholics themselves. In this state of things thumbscrews and whipping—admirable engines of policy as they must be considered to be—will not ultimately prevail. The Catholics will hang over you; they will watch for the moment, and compel you hereafter to give them ten times as much, against your will, as they would now be contented with, if it were voluntarily surrendered. Remember what happened in the American war, when Ireland compelled you to give her everything she asked, and to renounce, in the most explicit manner, your claim of sovereignty over her. God Almighty grant the folly of these present men may not bring on such another crisis of public affairs!

What are your dangers which threaten the Establishment? —Reduce this declamation to a point, and let us understand what you mean. The most ample allowance does not calculate that there would be more than twenty members who were Roman Catholics in one house, and ten in the other, if the Catholic emancipation were carried into effect. Do you mean that these thirty members would bring in a Bill to take away the tithes from the Protestant, and to pay them to the Catholic clergy? Do you mean that a Catholic general would march his army into the House of Commons, and purge it of

Mr. Perceval and Dr. Duigenan? or that the theological writers would become all of a sudden more acute and more learned, if the present civil incapacities were removed? Do you fear for your tithes, or your doctrines, or your person, or the English Constitution? Every fear, taken separately, is so glaringly absurd, that no man has the folly or the boldness to state it. Every one conceals his ignorance, or his baseness, in a stupid general panic, which, when called on, he is utterly incapable of explaining. Whatever you think of the Catholics, there they are—you cannot get rid of them; your alternative is to give them a lawful place for stating their grievances, or an unlawful one: if you do not admit them to the House of Commons, they will hold their parliament in Potato-place, Dublin, and be ten times as violent and inflammatory as they would be in Westminster. Nothing would give me such an idea of security as to see twenty or thirty Catholic gentlemen in Parliament, looked upon by all the Catholics as the fair and proper organ of their party. I should have thought it the height of good fortune that such a wish existed on their part, and the very essence of madness and ignorance to reject it. Can you murder the Catholics?—Can you neglect them? They are too numerous for both these expedients. What remains to be done is obvious to every human being—but to that man who, instead of being a Methodist preacher, is, for the curse of us and our children, and for the ruin of Troy and the misery of good old Priam and his sons, become a legislator and a politician.

A distinction, I perceive, is taken by one of the most feeble noblemen in Great Britain, between persecution and the deprivation of political power; whereas there is no more distinction between these two things than there is between him who makes the distinction and a booby. If I strip off the relic-covered jacket of a Catholic, and give him twenty stripes . . . I persecute; if I say, Everybody in the town where you live shall be a candidate for lucrative and honorable offices, but you, who are a Catholic . . . I do not persecute! What barbarous nonsense is this! as if degradation was not as great an evil as bodily pain or as severe poverty: as if I could not be as great a tyrant by saying, You shall not enjoy—as by

saying, You shall suffer. The English, I believe, are as truly religious as any nation in Europe: I know no greater blessing, but it carries with it this evil in its train—that any villain who will bawl out, "*The Church is in danger!*" may get a place and a good pension; and that any administration who will do the same thing may bring a set of men into power who, at a moment of stationary and passive piety, would be hooted by the very boys in the streets. But it is not all religion; it is, in great part, the narrow and exclusive spirit which delights to keep the common blessings of sun and air and freedom from other human beings, "Your religion has always been degraded; you are in the dust, and I will take care you never rise again. I should enjoy less the possession of an earthly good by every additional person to whom it was extended." You may not be aware of it yourself, most reverend Abraham, but you deny their freedom to the Catholics upon the same principle that Sarah your wife refuses to give the receipt for a ham or a gooseberry dumpling: she values her receipts, not because they secure to her a certain flavour, but because they remind her that her neighbours want it:—a feeling laughable in a priestess, shameful in a priest; venial when it withholds the blessings of a ham, tyrannical and execrable when it narrows the boon of religious freedom.

You spend a great deal of ink about the character of the present prime minister. Grant you all that you write—I say, I fear he will ruin Ireland, and pursue a line of policy destructive to the true interest of his country. . . .

The late administration did not do right; they did not build their measures upon the solid basis of facts. They should have caused several Catholics to have been dissected after death by surgeons of either religion; and the report to have been published with accompanying plates. If the viscera, and other organs of life, had been found to be the same as in Protestant bodies; if the provision of nerves, arteries, cerebrum, and cerebellum, had been the same as we are provided with, or as the Dissenters are now known to possess; then, indeed, they might have met Mr. Perceval upon a proud eminence, and convinced the country at large of the strong probability that the Catholics are really human creatures,

endowed with the feelings of men, and entitled to all their rights. But instead of this wise and prudent measure, Lord Howick, with his usual precipitation, brings forward a Bill in their favour, without offering the slightest proof to the country that they were anything more than horses and oxen.

265. Wellington's Memorandum for Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher, commanding the Royal Engineers.

"Despatches of the Duke of Wellington," v. 230.

Lisbon, October 20, 1809.

In the existing relative state of the Allied and French armies in the Peninsula, it does not appear probable that the enemy have it in their power to make an attack upon Portugal. They must wait for their reinforcements; and as the arrival of these may be expected, it remains to be considered what plan of defence shall be adopted for this country.

The great object in Portugal is the possession of Lisbon and the Tagus, and all our measures must be directed to this object. There is another also connected with that first object, to which we must likewise attend, viz., the embarkation of the British troops in case of reverse.

In whatever season the enemy may enter Portugal, he will probably make his attack by two distinct lines, the one north, the other south of the Tagus; and the system of defence to be adopted must be founded upon this general basis.

In the winter season the river Tagus will be full, and will be a barrier to the enemy's enterprises with his left attack, not very difficult to be secured. In the summer season, however, the Tagus being fordable in many places between Abrantes and Salvaterra, and even lower than Salvaterra, care must be taken that the enemy does not, by his attack directed from the south of the Tagus, and by the passage of the river, cut off from Lisbon the British army engaged in operations to the northward of the Tagus.

The object of the allies should be to oblige the enemy as much as possible to make his attack with concentrated corps.

They should stand in every position which the country could afford such a length of time as would enable the people of the country to evacuate the towns and villages, carrying with them or destroying all articles of provisions and carriages, not necessary for the allies' army; each corps taking care to preserve its communication with the others, and its relative distance from the point of junction.

In whatever season the enemy's attack may be made, the whole allied army, after providing for the garrisons of Elvas, Almeida, Abrantes, and Valença, should be divided into three corps, to be posted as follows:—one corp to be in Beira; another in Alentejo; and the third, consisting of the Lusitanian Legion, eight battalions of caçadores, and two of militia, in the mountains of Castello Branco.

In the winter, the corps in Beira should consist of two-thirds of the whole numbers of the operating army. In the summer, the corps in Beira and Alentajo should be nearly of equal numbers.

I shall point out in another memorandum the plan of operations to be adopted by the corps north and south of the Tagus in the winter months.

In the summer it is probable, as I have above stated, that the enemy will make his attack in two principal corps, and that he will also push one through the mountains of Castello Branco and Abrantes. His object will be, by means of his corps south of the Tagus, to turn the positions which might be taken up in his front on the north of that river; to cut off from Lisbon the corps opposed to him; and to destroy it by an attack in front and rear at the same time. This can be avoided only by the retreat of the right centre and left of the allies, and their junction at a point at which, from the state of the river, they cannot be turned by the passage of the Tagus by the enemy's left.

The first point of defence which presents itself below that at which the Tagus ceases to be fordable is the river of Castanheira, and here the army should be posted as follows:—10,000 men, including all the cavalry, in the plain between the Tagus and the hills; 5000 infantry on the left of the plain, and the remainder of the army, with the exception of the

following detachments, on the heights in front, and on the right of Cadafoes.

In order to prevent the enemy from turning, by their left, the positions which the allies may take up for the defence of the high road to Lisbon by the Tagus, Torres Vedras should be occupied by a corps of 5000 men; the height in the rear of Sobral de Monte Agraço by 4000 men; and Arruda by 2000 men.

There should be a small corps on the height east by south of the height of Sobral, to prevent the enemy from marching from Sobral to Arruda; and there should be another small corps on the height of Adjuda, between Sobral and Bucellas.

In case the enemy should succeed in forcing the corps at Torres Vedras, or Sobral de Monte Agraço, or Arruda; if the first, it must fall back gradually to Cabeça de Montachique, occupying every defensible point on the road: if the second, it must fall back upon Bucellas, destroying the road after the height of Ajuda; if the third, it must fall back upon Alhandra, disputing the road particularly at a point one league in front of that town.

In case any one of these three positions should be forced, the army must fall back from its position as before pointed out, and must occupy one as follows:

Five thousand men, principally light infantry, on the hill behind Alhandra; the main body of the army on the Serra de Serves, with its right on that part of the Serra which is near the Cazal de Portella, and is immediately above the road which crosses the Serra from Bucellas to Alverça; and its left extending to the pass of Bucellas. The entrance of the pass of Bucellas to be occupied by the troops retired from Sobral de Monte Agraço, etc., and Cabeça de Montachique, by the corps retired from Torres Vedras.

In order to strengthen these several positions, it is necessary that different works should be constructed immediately, and that arrangements and preparations should be made for the construction of others.

Accordingly, I beg Colonel Fletcher, as soon as possible, to review these several positions.

1st. He will examine particularly the effect of damming up

the mouth of the Castanheira river; how far it will render that river a barrier, and to what extent it will fill.

2nd. He will calculate the labour required for that work and the time it will take, as well as the means of destroying the bridge over the river, and of constructing such redoubts as might be necessary on the plain, and on the hill on the left of the road, effectually to defend the plain. He will state particularly what means should be prepared for these works. He will also consider of the means and time required, and the effect which might be produced by sloping the banks of the river.

3rd. He will make the same calculations for the works to be executed on the hill in front, and on the right of Cadafoes, particularly on the left of that hill, to shut the entry of the valley of Cadafoes.

4th. He will examine and report upon the means of making a good road of communication from the plain across the hills into the valley of Cadafoes, and to the left of the proposed position, and calculate the time and labour it will take.

5th. He will examine the road from Otta by Abregada, Labrugeira to Merciana, and thence to Torres Vedras; and also from Merciana to Sobral de Monte Agraço. He will also examine and report upon the road from Alemquer to Sobral de Monte Agraço.

6th. He will entrench a post at Torres Vedras for 5000 men. He will examine the road from Torres Vedras to Cabeça de Montachique; and fix upon the spots at which to break it up as might stop or delay the enemy; and if there should be advantageous grounds at such spots, he will entrench a position for 400 men to cover the retreat of the corps from Torres Vedras.

7th. He will examine the position at Cabeça de Montachique, and determine upon its line of defence, and upon the works to be constructed for its defence, by a corps of 5000 men, of which he will estimate the time and the labour.

8th. He will entrench a position for 4000 men on the two heights which command the road from Sobral de Monte Agraço to Bucellas.

9th. He will entrench a position for 400 men on the height

of Ajuda, between Sobral and Bucellas, to cover the retreat of the corps from Sobral to Bucellas; and he will calculate the means and the time it will take to destroy the road at that spot.

10th. He will construct a redoubt for 200 men and three guns at the windmill, on the height of Sobral de Monte Agraço, which guns will bear upon the road from Sobral to Arruda.

11th. He will ascertain the points at which, and the means by which, the road from Sobral to Arruda can be destroyed.

12th. He will ascertain the labour and the time required to entrench a position which he will fix upon for 2000 men to defend the road coming out of Arruda towards Villa Franca and Alhandra, and he will fix upon the spot at which the road from Arruda to Alhandra can be destroyed with advantage.

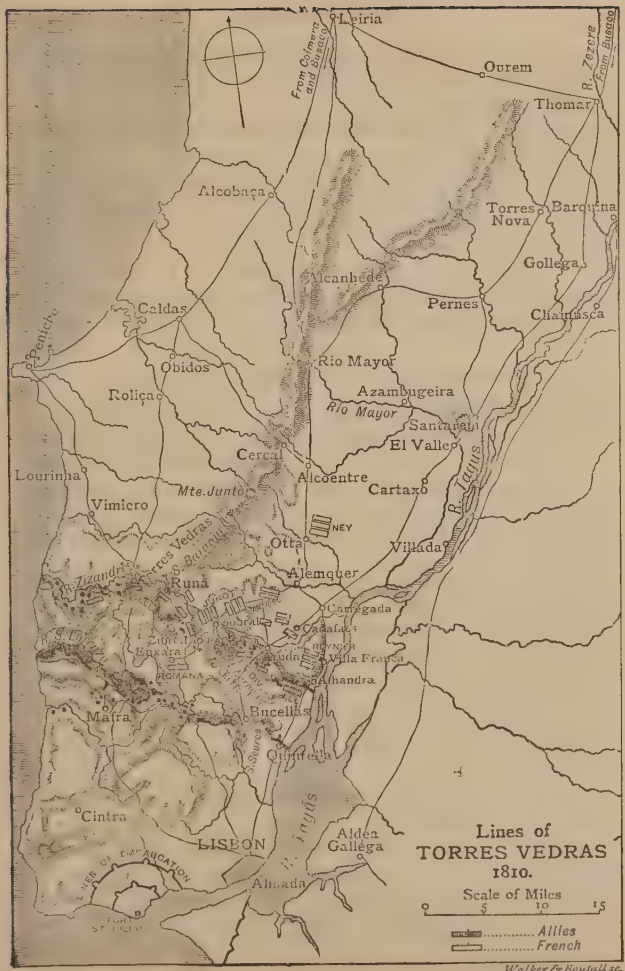
13th. He will construct a redoubt on the hill which commands the road from Arruda, about one league in front of Alhandra.

14th. He will examine the estuaries at Alhandra, and see whether, by damming them up at the mouths, he could increase the difficulties of a passage by that place; and he will ascertain the time and labour, and means which this work will require.

15th. He will fix upon the spots, and ascertain the time and labour required to construct redoubts upon the hill of Alhandra, on the right, to prevent the passage of the enemy by the high road; and on the left, and in the rear, to prevent by their fire the occupation of the mountains towards Alverca.

16th. He will determine upon the works to be constructed on the right of the position upon the Serra de Serves, as above pointed out, to prevent the enemy from forcing that point; and he will calculate the means and the time required to execute them. He will likewise examine the pass of Bucellas, and fix upon the works to be constructed for its defence, and calculate the means, time, and labour required for the execution.

17th. He will calculate the means, time, and labor required to construct a work upon the hill upon which the windmill stands, at the southern entrance at the pass of Bucellas.



From "How England Saved Europe," by W. H. Fitchett, LL.D.
(By the courtesy of Messrs. Smith Elder & Co.)

18th. He will fix upon spots on which signal-posts can be erected upon these hills, to communicate from one part of the position to the other.

19th. It is very desirable that we should have an accurate plan of the ground.

20th. Examine the island in the river opposite to Alhandra, and fix upon the spot, and calculate the means and time required to construct batteries upon it, to play upon the approach to Alhandra.

21st. Examine the effect of damming up the river, which runs by Loures, and calculate the time and means required to break up the bridge at Loures.

266. Wellington to the Earl of Liverpool.

Pero Negro, November 3, 1810. "Despatches," vi. 552.

I wish it was in my power to give your lordship an opinion of the probable course of the enemy's operations, founded upon the existing state of affairs here, considered in a military point of view; but from what I am about to state to your lordship, you will observe, that it is impossible to form such an opinion.

The expedition into Portugal was, in my opinion, founded originally upon political and financial, rather than military considerations. It is true, that with a view to the conquest of Spain, there were advantages purely military, to be derived from the removal of the British army from Portugal; but I think I could show that it was not essentially necessary to effect that object, particularly after the door into Castille had been closed upon us, by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.

The political object, therefore, in removing us from Portugal, which was the effect that our evacuation of the Peninsula would have had upon the inhabitants of Spain in general, and upon those of Cadiz in particular; and the financial object, which was the possession and plunder of Lisbon and Oporto, were the principal motives for the perseverance in the expedition into Portugal. I believe the latter to have been more pressing even than the former.

It is impossible to describe to your lordship the pecuniary and other distresses of the French armies in the Peninsula. All the troops are months in arrears of pay; they are in general very badly clothed; their armies want horses, carriages, and equipments of every description; their troops subsist solely upon plunder, whether acquired individually, or more regularly by way of requisition and contribution; they receive no money, or scarcely any, from France; and they realise but little from their pecuniary contributions in Spain. Indeed, I have lately discovered that the expense of the pay and the hospitals alone, of the French army in the Peninsula, amounts to more than the sum stated in the financial *exposé*, as the whole expense of the entire French army. This state of things has very much weakened, and in some instances destroyed, the discipline of the army; and all the intercepted letters advert to acts of malversation and corruption, and misapplication of stores, etc., by all the persons attached to the army.

I have no doubt, therefore, that the desire to relieve this state of distress, and to remove the consequent evils occasioned by it, by the plunder of Lisbon and Oporto, was the first motive for the expedition into Portugal. The expedition, not having been founded upon any military necessity, has been carried on and persevered in against every military principle. We know that Massena could expect no immediate reinforcements; and without adverting to the various errors, which I believe he would acknowledge he had committed in the course of the service, he has persevered in it, after he found that he was unable to force the troops, opposed to him, when posted in a strong position, and when he knew that they had one still stronger in their rear, to which they were about to retire; and that they were likely to be reinforced, while his army would be still further weakened by sickness, and by the privations to which he knew they must be liable on their march. He knew that the whole country was against him; that a considerable corps was formed upon the Douro, which would immediately operate upon his rear; that at the time of the battle of Busaco he had no longer any communication with Spain · and that every step he took farther

in advance was a step towards additional difficulty and inconvenience, from which the retreat would be almost impossible.

If the expedition into Portugal had been founded upon military principle only, it would have ended at Busaco; and I do not hesitate to acknowledge that I expected that Massena would retire from thence, or at all events would not advance beyond the Mondego. But he has continued to advance, contrary to every military principle; and I therefore conclude that the pressure of financial distresses, which was the original motive for the expedition, was that for persevering in it, and may operate upon the measures of the present moment.

In this view of the case, it is probable that Massena may endeavour to maintain his position, as long as he can keep alive any proportion of his troops, being certain that the same difficulties which induced the Emperor to undertake the expedition without any military necessity, would induce him to make every effort to reinforce him at the earliest possible period of time, and therefore that he will remain some time longer where he is.

Your lordship is already acquainted with the means of reinforcing him. There is no doubt that, by raising the siege of Cadiz, and abandoning other unattainable objects, Massena may be reinforced to a very considerable extent.

Under these circumstances, I have frequently turned over in my mind the expediency of attacking the French army now in my front, before it should be joined by its reinforcements; and, upon the whole, I am inclined to be of opinion that I ought not to do so.

I enclose your lordship an account of the number of battalions, squadrons, etc., which entered Portugal with Massena, and I cannot believe that they composed an army of less than 70,000 men at the battle of Busaco. I calculate their loss, including sick, since that time, at 15,000 men, which would leave them with 55,000 men, of which 6000 or 7000 are cavalry at the present moment.

The effective strength of the British army, according to the last returns, was 29,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and one regiment at Lisbon, and one at Torres Vedras, which, in

the view of the contest ought not to be taken into the account; and I enclose a statement of the Portuguese force, according to the last returns.

Besides this force, the Marques de la Romana's corps consists of about 5000 men; making a total of 58,615, of which I could command the services, in case I should act offensively against the enemy.

Besides these troops, there are different bodies of militia, infantry, and artillery, in our positions; but I should deceive myself if I could expect, and your lordship if I should state, that any advantage would be derived from their assistance in an offensive operation against the enemy.

Although the enemy's position is not so strong as that which we occupy, there is no doubt but that it has its advantages; one of which is, that in attacking it, we could hardly use our artillery. I would also observe, that in every operation of this description by the British army in Portugal, no attempt can be made to manœuvre upon the enemy's flank or rear; first, because the enemy show they are indifferent about their flanks or rear, or their communications; and secondly, because the inevitable consequence of attempting such a manœuvre would be to open some one or other road to Lisbon, and to our shipping, of which the enemy would take immediate advantage to attain his object.

We must carry their positions, therefore, by main force, and consequently with loss; and, in the course of the operations I must draw the army out of their cantonments; I must expose the troops and horses to the inclemencies of the weather at this season of the year, and must look to all the consequences of that measure in increased sickness of the men, and in loss of efficiency and condition in horses.

I observe that, notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since the greatest and most efficient part of the French army has been employed against us, there is yet no other military body in the Peninsula which is capable of taking, much less of keeping the field; and the relief of Cadiz, which appears to me to be a probable consequence of the state of affairs here, would not give us the assistance of an army from that quarter, either in the way of co-operation or of

diversion; nor would the removal of Sebastiani from Granada, which would be the consequence of the relief of Cadiz, enable Blake to make any progress beyond the Sierra Morena towards Madrid. We should still stand alone in the Peninsula as an army; and if I should succeed in forcing Massena's position, it would become a question whether I should be able to maintain my own, in case the enemy should march another army into this country. But, when I observe how small the superiority of numbers is in my favour, and know that the position will be in favour of the enemy, I cannot but be of opinion that I act in conformity with the instructions and intentions of His Majesty's Government, in waiting for the result of what is going on, and in incurring no extraordinary risk.

Every day's delay, at this season of the year, narrows our line of defence, and consequently strengthens it; and when the winter shall have set in, no number, however formidable, can venture to attack it; and the increase of the enemy's numbers at that period will only add to their distress, and increase the difficulties of their retreat.

I have thought it proper to make your lordship acquainted with the course of my reflections upon this subject, and my present determination, which I hope will be consistent with the wishes of His Majesty's Government. Circumstances may change: the enemy's distresses for provisions, and the operations of our detachments in his rear, may induce him to detach to such a degree, as to render a general attack upon him a measure of positive advantage, in which case I shall alter my determination.

But adverting to the necessity of placing the troops in the field in this season if I should make any attack, the advantage must be very obvious before I adopt a measure which must be attended by the consequence of losing the services of my men by sickness.

267. Wellington to Earl Bathurst.

Waterloo, June 19, 1815. "Despatches," xii. 478.

Buonaparte, having collected the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and

nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobbes on the Sambre at daylight in the morning.

I did not hear of these events until the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march, and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day, and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blücher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Bruxelles; and, on the same evening, the 15th attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands under the Prince de Wiemar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farmhouse on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles with Marshal Blücher's position.

In the meantime I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blücher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2nd corps, and a corps of cavalry under General Kellermann, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bülow, had not joined; and I was not able to assist them, as I wished, as I

was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. He made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner.

In this affair, H.R.H. the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton, and Major-Generals Sir J. Kempt and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves; as well as Lieut.-General C. Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halkett, Lieut.-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42nd, 79th, and 92nd regts., and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret H.S.H. the Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blücher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged; and, as the 4th corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back and to concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night, after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal rendered necessary a corresponding one upon my part, and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo, the next morning, the 17th, at 10 o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blücher. On the contrary a patrole which I sent to Sombref in the morning found all quiet; and the enemy's vedettes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day,

excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their *débouché* from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and gardens of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher at Wavre through Ohain; and the Marshal had promised me that, in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the 3rd corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blücher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about 10 o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Macdoneil, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the German Legion, which occupied it, had

expended all its ammunition; and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful; and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about 7 in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with cavalry and infantry supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and, having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bülow's corps, by Frischermont, upon Planchenois and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his positions on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blücher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning that he had taken 60 pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, etc., belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your Lordship will observe that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained,

without great loss; and I am sorry to add that ours has been immense. In Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton His Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was repulsed. The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive His Majesty for some time of his services.

268. English Feeling toward Napoleon after Waterloo.

The Times, July 25, 1815.

Our paper of this day will satisfy the sceptics, for such there were beginning to be, as to the capture of that bloody miscreant, who has so long tortured Europe, Napoleon Buonaparte. Savages are always found to unite the greatest degree of cunning to the ferocious part of their nature. The cruelty of this person is written in characters of blood in almost every country in Europe, and in the contiguous angles of Africa and Asia which he visited; and nothing can more strongly evince the universal conviction of his low, perfidious craft, than the opinion, which was beginning to get abroad, that, even after his capture had been officially announced both in France and England, he might yet have found means to escape.

However all doubts upon this point are at an end, by his arrival off the British coast, and, if he be not now placed beyond the possibility of again outraging the peace of Europe, England will certainly never again deserve to have heroes such as those who have fought and bled at Waterloo, for this his present overthrow. The lives of the brave men who fell on that memorable day will have been absolutely thrown away by a thoughtless country, the grand object obtained by their valour will have been frustrated, and we shall do little less than insult over their remains, almost before they have ceased to bleed. But Fortune, seconding their undaunted efforts, has put it in our power to do far otherwise.

Captain Sartorius of the *Slaney* frigate, arrived yesterday with despatches from Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, confirming all the antecedent accounts of Buonaparte's surrender, with various other details, and closing them by their natural catastrophe—his safe conveyance to England. He is, therefore, what we may call, here. Captain Sartorius delivered his despatches to Lord Melville, at Wimbledon, by whom their contents were communicated to Lord Liverpool, at his seat at Coombe Wood; summonses were immediately issued for a Cabinet Council to meet at 12 o'clock; what passed there was, of course, not suffered to transpire; our narrative must therefore revert to the *Slaney* frigate, and the accounts brought by her. She had been sent forward by Captain Maitland, to Plymouth, with the despatches announcing that Buonaparte was on board the *Bellerophon*, with a numerous suite. But it was the intention of Captain Maitland himself, to proceed to Torbay, and not land his prisoners until he had received orders from Government.

Buonaparte's suite, as it is called, consists of upwards of forty persons, among whom are Bertrand, Savary, Lallemand, Grogau, and several women. He has been allowed to take on board carriages and horses, but admission was denied to about fifty cavalry, for whom he had the impudence to require accommodation. This wretch has really lived in the commission of every crime so long that he has lost all sight and knowledge of the difference that exists between good and evil, and hardly knows when he is doing wrong, except he be taught by proper chastisement. A creature—who ought to be greeted with a gallows as soon as he lands—to think of an attendance of fifty horsemen! He had at first wanted to make conditions with Captain Maitland, as to his treatment, but the British officer very properly declared that he must refer him upon this subject to his Government.

When he had been some time on board, he asked the Captain what chance two large frigates, well manned, would have with a seventy-four. The answer, we understand, which he received to this inquiry, did not give him any cause to regret that he had not risked his fortune in a naval combat with the relative forces in question. By the way, we should

not have been surprised if he had come into an action with the two frigates, and then endeavoured to escape in his own, and leave the other to her fate. It has been the constant trick of this villain, whenever he has got his companions into a scrape, to leave them in it and seek his own safety by flight. In Egypt, in the Moscow expedition, and at Waterloo, such was his conduct.

269. Wellington and Parliamentary Reform.

House of Lords Debate on the King's Speech, "Hansard Parliamentary Debates," Third Series, i. 52, 53.

November 2, 1830.

. . . This subject brings me to what noble Lords have said respecting the putting the country in a state to overcome the evils likely to result from the late disturbances in France. The noble Earl has alluded to the propriety of effecting Parliamentary Reform. The noble Earl has, however, been candid enough to acknowledge that he is not prepared with any measure of reform, and I can have no scruple in saying that his Majesty's Government is as totally unprepared with any plan as the noble Lord. Nay, I on my own part, will go further, and say, that I have never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which can in any degree satisfy my mind that the state of the representation can be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large than at the present moment. I will not, however, at such an unseasonable time, enter upon the subject, or excite discussion, but I shall not hesitate to declare unequivocally what are my sentiments upon it. I am fully convinced that the country possesses at the present moment a Legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any Legislature ever has answered in any country whatever. I will go further and say, that the Legislature and the system of representation possess the full and entire confidence of the country—deservedly possess that confidence—and the discussions in the Legislature have a very great influence over the opinions of the country. I will go still further, and say, that if at the present moment I had imposed upon me the duty of forming a Legislature for any

country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, I do not mean to assert that I could form such a Legislature as we possess now, for the nature of man is incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but my great endeavour would be, to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results. The representation of the people at present contains a large body of the property of the country, and in which the landed interests have a preponderating influence. Under these circumstances, I am not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble Lord. I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare that as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others.

270. A Portion of the Reform Act.

1832.

An Act to amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales.

Whereas it is expedient to take effectual measures for correcting divers abuses that have long prevailed in the choice of members to serve in the Commons House of Parliament, to deprive many inconsiderable places of the right of returning members, to grant such privilege to large, populous and wealthy towns, to increase the franchise of knights of the shire, to extend the electors' franchise to many of his Majesty's subjects who have not heretofore enjoyed the same, and to diminish the expense of elections; be it therefore enacted that each of the boroughs enumerated in the schedule marked (A) to this act annexed (that is to say) Old Sarum, Newtown, St. Michael's or Midshall, Galton, Bramber, Bossiney, Dunwich, Ludgershall, St. Mawes, Beeralston, West Looe, St. Germains, Newport, Blechingly, Aldborough, Camelford, Hindon, East Looe, Corfe Castle, Great Bedwin, Yarmouth, Queenborough, Castle Rising, East Grinstead, Higham Ferrers, Wendover, Weobly, Winchelsea,

Tregony, Haslemere, Saltash, Orford, Callington, Newton, Ilchester, Boroughbridge, Stockbridge, New Romney, Hedon, Plympton, Seaford, Heylesbury, Steyning, Whitchurch, Wootton Bassett, Downton, Fowey, Milbourne Port, Aldeburgh, Minehead, Bishop's Castle, Okehampton, Appleby, Lostwithiel, Brackley, and Amersham shall from and after the end of this present parliament cease to return any member or members to serve in parliament.

III. And be it enacted that each of the places named in the schedule marked (C) to the act annexed (that is to say) Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Greenwich, Sheffield, Sunderland, Devonport, Wolverhampton, Tower Hamlets, Finsbury, Marylebone, Lambeth, Bolton, Bradford, Blackburn, Brighton, Halifax, Macclesfield, Oldham, Stockport, Stoke-on-Trent and Stroud shall for the purposes of this act be a borough . . . and that each of the said boroughs named in the said schedule (C) shall from and after the end of this parliament return two members to serve in parliament.

IV. And be it enacted, that each of the places named in schedule marked (D) to the act annexed (that is to say) Ashton-under-Lyne, Bury, Chatham, Cheltenham, Dudley, Frome, Gateshead, Huddersfield, Kidderminster, Kendal, Rochdale, Salford, South Shields, Tynemouth, Wakefield, Walsall, Warrington, Whitby, Whitehaven, and Merthyr Tydvil shall for the purposes of this act be a borough . . . and that each of the said boroughs named in the said schedule shall from and after the end of this present parliament return one member to serve in parliament.

SUMMARY OF THE SCHEDULES ATTACHED TO THE ACT.

A. Fifty-five boroughs returning two members, Higham Ferrers returning one member, disfranchised.

B. Thirty boroughs returning two members deprived of one member.

C. Twenty-two cities and boroughs given two members.

D. Twenty boroughs given one member.

XIX. And be it enacted, that every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall be seised at law or in equity of any lands or tenements of

copyhold or any other tenure whatever except freehold . . . of the clear yearly value of not less than ten pounds over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future parliament for the county, or for the riding, parts or division of the county, in which such lands or tenements shall be respectively situate.

271. The Poor Law Amendment Act.
4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 76, 1834.

An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales.

Be it therefore enacted . . . that it shall be lawful for his Majesty . . . to appoint three fit Commissioners to carry this Act into execution. . . .

II. That the said Commissioners shall be styled "The Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales" (to sit as a Board, with power to examine witnesses and call for papers, on oath).

XV. That . . . the administration of relief to the poor throughout England and Wales according to the existing laws . . . shall be subject to the direction and control of the said Commissioners . . . and they are hereby required . . . to issue all such rules, orders and regulations for the management of the poor, for the government of workhouses . . . and for the guidance and control of all guardians, vestries and parish officers.

XXIII. That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners . . . with the consent of a majority of the guardians of any Union . . . to direct the overseers or guardians of any parish . . . to build a workhouse.

XXVII. It shall be lawful for any two of his Majesty's justices of the peace . . . to direct . . . that relief shall be given to any adult person . . . unable to work, without requiring that such person shall reside in any workhouse.

XLIII. It shall be lawful for any justice of the peace acting in and for the county . . . to visit, inspect and examine such workhouse . . . for the purpose of ascertaining whether . . . rules . . . have been duly observed.

LII. That it shall be lawful . . . for the said Commissioners . . . to declare to what extent . . . relief to be given to able-bodied persons or their families . . . may be administered out of the workhouse . . . and all relief contrary to such orders . . . shall be unlawful.

LIV. That . . . the giving of all relief to the poor . . . shall appertain and belong exclusively to such guardians of the poor . . . and it shall not be lawful for any overseer to give further relief . . . than such as shall be ordered by such guardians.

LV. The master of every workhouse shall register . . . the name of every person . . . in the receipt of relief at or in such a workhouse . . . and in like manner . . . the overseer of the poor shall . . . register in a book the name of every person then in receipt of relief in such parish out of the workhouse (and in both cases particulars as to family, settlement, previous employment are to be added as required).

272. A Chartist Petition.

1838. Gammage, "History of the Chartist Movement," p. 87.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned their suffering countrymen,

Humbly Sheweth,—

That we, your petitioners, dwell in a land whose merchants are noted for their enterprise, whose manufacturers are very skilful, and whose workmen are proverbial for their industry. The land itself is goodly, the soil rich, and the temperature wholesome. It is abundantly furnished with the materials of commerce and trade. It has numerous and convenient harbours. In facility of internal communication it exceeds all others. For three and twenty years we have enjoyed a profound peace. Yet, with all the elements of national prosperity, and with every disposition and capacity to take advantage of them, we find ourselves overwhelmed with public and private suffering. We are bowed down under a load of taxes, which, notwithstanding, fall greatly short of the wants of our rulers. Our traders are trembling on the verge of bankruptcy; our

workmen are starving. Capital brings no profit, and labour no remuneration. The home of the artificer is desolate, and the warehouse of the pawnbroker is full. The workhouse is crowded, and the manufactory is deserted. We have looked on every side; we have searched diligently in order to find out the causes of distress so sore and so long continued. We can discover none in nature or in Providence. Heaven has dealt graciously by the people, nor have the people abused its grace, but the foolishness of our rulers has made the goodness of God of none effect. The energies of a mighty kingdom have been wasted in building up the power of selfish and ignorant men, and its resources squandered for their aggrandisement. The good of a part has been advanced at the sacrifice of the good of the nation. The few have governed for the interest of the few, while the interests of the many have been sottishly neglected, or insolently and tyrannously trampled upon. It was the fond expectation of the friends of the people that a remedy for the greater part, if not for the whole of their grievances, would be found in the Reform Act of 1832. They regarded that Act as a wise means to a worthy end, as the machinery of an improved legislation, where the will of the masses would be at length potential. They have been bitterly and basely deceived. The fruit which looked so fair to the eye, has turned to dust and ashes when gathered. The Reform Act has effected a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another, and left the people as helpless as before. We come before your honourable house to tell you, with all humility, that this state of things must not be permitted to continue. That it cannot long continue, without very seriously endangering the stability of the throne, and the peace of the kingdom, and that if, by God's help, and all lawful and constitutional appliances, an end can be put to it, we are fully resolved that it shall speedily come to an end. We tell your honourable house, that the capital of the master must no longer be deprived of its due profit; that the labour of the workman must no longer be deprived of its due reward. That the laws which make food dear, and the laws which make money scarce, must be abolished. That taxation must be made to fall on property, not on industry.

That the good of the many, as it is the only legitimate end, so must it be the sole study of the government. As a preliminary essential to these and other requisite changes—as the means by which alone the interests of the people can be effectually vindicated and secured, we demand that those interests be confided to the keeping of the people. When the State calls for defenders, when it calls for money, no consideration of poverty or ignorance can be pleaded in refusal or delay of the call. Required, as we are universally, to support and obey the laws, nature and reason entitle us to demand that in the making of the laws the universal voice shall be implicitly listened to. We perform the duties of freemen; we must have the privileges of freemen. Therefore, we demand universal suffrage. The suffrage, to be exempt from the corruption of the wealthy and the violence of the powerful, must be secret. The assertion of our right necessarily involves the power of our uncontrolled exercise. We ask for the reality of a good, not for its semblance, therefore we demand the ballot. The connection between the representatives and the people, to be beneficial, must be intimate. The legislative and constituent powers, for correction and for instruction, ought to be brought into frequent contact. Errors which are comparatively light, when susceptible of a speedy popular remedy, may produce the most disastrous effects when permitted to grow inveterate through years of compulsory endurance. To public safety, as well as public confidence, frequent elections are essential. Therefore, we demand annual parliaments. With power to choose, and freedom in choosing, the range of our choice must be unrestricted. We are compelled by the existing laws, to take for our representatives men who are incapable of appreciating our difficulties, or have little sympathy with them; merchants who have retired from trade and no longer feel its harassings; proprietors of land who are alike ignorant of its evils and its cure; lawyers by whom the notoriety of the senate is courted only as a means of obtaining notice in the courts. The labours of a representative who is sedulous in the discharge of his duty are numerous and burdensome. It is neither just, nor reasonable, nor safe, that they should continue to be gratuitously rendered. We demand

that in the future election of members of your honourable house, the approbation of the constituency shall be the sole qualification, and that to every representative so chosen, shall be assigned out of the public taxes, a fair and adequate remuneration for the time which he is called upon to devote to the public service. The management of this mighty kingdom has hitherto been a subject for contending factions to try their selfish experiments upon. We have felt the consequences in our sorrowful experience. Short glimmerings of uncertain enjoyment, swallowed up by long and dark seasons of suffering. If the self-government of the people should not remove their distresses, it will, at least, remove their repinings. Universal suffrage will, and it alone can, bring true and lasting peace to the nation; we firmly believe that it will also bring prosperity. May it therefore please your honourable house, to take this our petition into your most serious consideration, and to use your utmost endeavours, by all constitutional means, to have a law passed, granting to every male of lawful age, sane mind, and unconvicted of crime, the right of voting for members of parliament, and directing all future elections of members of parliament to be in the way of secret ballot, and ordaining that the duration of parliament, so chosen, shall in no case exceed one year, and abolishing all property qualifications in the members, and providing for their due remuneration while in attendance on their parliamentary duties.

273. Sir Robert Peel on the Repeal of the Corn Laws.

"Hansard, Parliamentary Debates," Third Series, lxxxiii. 1041–1043.

February 16, 1846.

This night is to decide between the policy of continued relaxation of restriction, or the return to restraint and prohibition. This night you will select the motto which is to indicate the commercial policy of England. Shall it be "advance" or "recede"? Which is the fitter motto for this great Empire? Survey our position, consider the advantage which God and nature have given us, and the destiny for which we are intended. We stand on the confines of Western

Europe, the chief connecting link between the old world and the new. The discoveries of science, the improvement of navigation, have brought us within ten days of St. Petersburg, and will soon bring us within ten days of New York. We have an extent of coast greater in proportion to our population and the area of our land than any other great nation, securing to us maritime strength and superiority. Iron and coal, the sinews of manufacture, give us advantages over every rival in the great competition of industry. Our capital far exceeds that which they can command. In ingenuity—in skill—in energy—we are inferior to none. Our national character, the free institutions under which we live, the liberty of thought and action, an unshackled press, spreading the knowledge of every discovery and of every advance in science—combine with our natural and physical advantages to place us at the head of those nations which profit by the free interchange of their products. And is this the country to shrink from competition? Is this the country to adopt a retrograde policy? Is this the country which can only flourish in the sickly artificial atmosphere of prohibition? Is this the country to stand shivering on the brink of exposure to the healthful breezes of competition?

Choose your motto. "Advance" or "Recede." Many countries are watching with anxiety the selection you may make. Determine for "Advance," and it will be the watch-word which will animate and encourage in every state the friends of a liberal commercial policy. Sardinia has taken the lead. Naples is relaxing her protective duties and favouring British produce. Prussia is shaken in her adherence to restriction. The Government of France will be strengthened; and, backed by the intelligence of the reflecting, and by conviction of the real welfare of the great body of the community, will perhaps ultimately prevail over the self-interest of the commercial and manufacturing aristocracy which now predominates in her Chambers. Can you doubt that the United States will soon relax her hostile Tariff, and that the friends of a freer commercial intercourse—the friends of peace between the two countries—will hail with satisfaction the example of England?

This night, then—if on this night the debate shall close—you will have to decide what are the principles by which your commercial policy is to be regulated. Most earnestly, from a deep conviction, founded not upon the limited experience of three years alone, but upon the experience of the results of every relaxation of restriction and prohibition, I counsel you to set the example of liberality to other countries. Act thus, and it will be in perfect consistency with the course you have hitherto taken. Act thus, and you will provide an additional guarantee for the continued contentment, and happiness, and well-being of the great body of the people. Act thus, and you will have done whatever human sagacity can do for the promotion of commercial prosperity.

You may fail. Your precautions may be unavailing. They may give no certain assurance that mercantile and manufacturing prosperity will continue without interruption. It seems to be incident to great prosperity that there shall be a reverse—that the time of depression shall follow the season of excitement and success. That time of depression must perhaps return; and its return may be coincident with scarcity caused by unfavourable seasons. Gloomy winters, like those of 1841 and 1842, may again set in. Are those winters effaced from your memory? From mine they never can be. . . .

When you are again exhorting a suffering people to fortitude under their privations, when you are telling them, "These are the chastenings of an all-wise and merciful Providence, sent for some inscrutable but just and beneficent purpose—it may be, to humble our pride, or to punish our unfaithfulness, or to impress us with the sense of our own nothingness and dependence on His mercy"; when you are thus addressing your suffering fellow-subjects, and encouraging them to bear without repining the dispensations of Providence, may God grant that by your decision of this night you may have laid in store for yourselves the consolation of reflecting that such calamities are, in truth, the dispensations of Providence—that they have not been caused, they have not been aggravated by laws of man restricting, in the hour of scarcity, the supply of food!

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES

[*Black numbers in brackets refer to the numbers of the extracts.*]

1. Why did Roman roads go as straight as they could along the tops of hills, instead of avoiding them? (2)

2. Is it possible to trace the origin of the village meeting and local law courts of England in this extract? (4)

3. What important institutions mentioned here were modified in England, and why? What other institutions arose in England which may be traced to those here described? (3, 4)

4. Contrast the habits of the Britons and the Teutons. (1, 2, 3, 4)

5. What was the importance of monasteries at this period? (5)

6. How far does Pope Gregory recognise the existence of other Christian Churches as well as the Church of Rome? Do you consider his advice sensible, and why? (7)

7. At their meeting, which behaved in the more Christian way, Augustine or the British bishops? (8)

8. At the Synod of Whitby, which side seems to you to have used the better arguments? What advantages and disadvantages were likely to result from the decision arrived at? (9)

9. Why did the Norsemen naturally become sea-rovers, while the English did not? (10)

10. What must the people who used these sayings have been like? From which of the sayings can you tell whether they would have been traders or fighters; practical or unpractical; honest or dishonest; farmers or robbers? (11)

11. Between 787 and 871 what similarity do you notice between the events of successive years? (12)

12. What light does this document throw on the social attitude of the Church? (14)

13. Can any portion of the education of a modern youth be compared with the journey to Rome in Alfred's time? (15)

14. From the extracts that deal with the Danes state what were Alfred's chief problems when he became king. (12, 13, 16)

15. Which of Alfred's many activities do you think was in the long run the most useful to his country? (15, 18, 19, 20)

16. Are there any geographical reasons which account for Wessex having the supremacy which made it leader against the Danes?

17. Show by a sketch map which parts of England were raided chiefly by the Danes.

18. Does this scale of compensation seem to you a fair one?

What light does it throw on English social life in the ninth century? (20)

19. What was the importance of the ordeal in early justice? (23)

20. How far is it true to say that in tenth-century England rank depended upon merit? (22)

21. Why is it not one of our ordinary duties to pursue thieves at the present day? (24)

22. Why were witnesses needed at commercial transactions? Is there any similar custom at the present day? (25)

23. What does this will tell us of Saxon civilisation in the tenth century? (26)

24. Who exactly were Æthelstan's opponents at Brunanburh? Where was it? (27)

25. Make a sketch map of Cnut's journey to Rome, showing through what countries he might have passed and stating what form of civilisation he would have found there. (28)

26. Compare these Norsemen with those described in previous extracts. (10, 11, 29)

27. Write a conversation between Duke William, a superstitious Breton lord, a greedy Angevin, and a religious and scrupulous noble from Boulogne, who are considering whether they will join him or not in his expedition against England. (30)

28. From the internal evidence does this appear to be written by a Saxon or a Norman? (31)

29. Compare the lives of the clergy and monks in England at the coming of the Normans with the life led by St. Columba. (5, 6, 31)

30. Illustrate from Domesday the kinds of persons whose safety William had in view in framing the statute. (32, 35)

31. Why should the Saxons have wished to murder Normans? Do the provisions of this statute seem to you calculated to attain their end? Are they in accordance with modern views of justice? (32)

32. How far do you consider that the writer of this portion of the Saxon Chronicle is fair in his statements? (33)

33. Give a brief account of William, pointing out which elements in his character you like and which you dislike. (32, 33, 34)

34. Illustrate from Domesday Book the religious nature of the Normans. (35)

35. Tabulate the probable reasons for William's survey of England. (34, 35)

36. Illustrate from Domesday Book William's forest-making. (35)

37. Why did the writer of the Saxon Chronicle dislike Domesday Book? Would a modern English peasant regard it in the same way? (34, 35)

38. From the extracts given make a list of the various objects of agricultural value recorded in Domesday Book. (35)

39. Can you suggest any reason for the temporary decline in the value of these estates? (35)

40. Why were eels of more value in 1086 than now? (35[2])

41. How would William regard the option of the three thegns? (35[3])

42. Compare the land held in demesne with the rest of the estates mentioned in these extracts. (35)

43. From the Domesday extracts (*a*) make a list of the various ways in which an owner of the land in 1086 might have acquired it; (*b*) show the power of local officers and courts. (35)

44. What indication is there of change of ownership in favour of the Normans? (35)

45. Who was the Bishop of Bayeux? How do you think the land came to the bishop? May this throw light on any political event? (35[11]; 33)

46. Find an example of intermarriage in the extracts given from Domesday Book. (31, 35)

47. From the extracts given arrange the dwellers in the different manors in the order of their social position. (35)

48. What do you think this extract means? (35[17].)

49. From the extracts make a list of all the rights the king had in various parts of the country. (35)

50. After reading the extracts draw up a paper of instructions from William to his surveyors telling them exactly what information they are to ask for. (34, 35)

51. Make a brief abstract of Anselm's speech, showing clearly his arguments for not yielding to the king. (36)

52. In what respects was William maintaining an English precedent? (36)

53. Suggest Henry I.'s reasons for strengthening the hundred and shire courts. (37)

54. What reforms of Henry II.'s reign made this state of things impossible? (38, 44)

55. In what sense can this state of anarchy be said to be latent in feudalism? (38)

56. Do you think that Henry can have had any object in behaving like this? (39)

57. After reading the whole extract carefully, state, with reasons, whether you think the writer liked Henry or not. (39)

58. Compare this account with that of Peter of Blois, and show how Henry's character might be interpreted in both ways. (39, 40)

59. Becket objected to this that it was trying a man twice for the same offence. Do you agree with him? (41)

60. Give the king's reasons for wishing to enact each of the clauses given from the Constitutions of Clarendon. (42)

61. What do you think of Matilda's opinion of the Constitutions? (43)

62. Write two conversations between Matilda and her son, in which she (1) discusses with him the Constitutions; (2) discusses his habits as described in a previous document. (39, 40, 42, 43)

63. How far is Becket's letter in agreement with Matilda's views? (43, 45)

64. Write a letter from the king to Thomas in answer to the one just given. (45)

65. Write a brief description of the murder of Becket. (46)

66. How far were the king's promises carried out? (47)

67. What political reasons may have weighed with Henry in making his submission ? (47)

68. What was the object of the Assize of Clarendon ? Compare it with any previous legislation of a similar character. (37, 44)

69. What is the connection between the "jury" mentioned in the Assize of Clarendon and the "jury" of modern times ? (44)

70. In what respects would a "witness" of this period differ from one in a modern law court ? In the law courts of the period would there have been any scope for the modern barrister ? (44)

71. What was the object of the regulations drawn up by Richard at Chinon ? (48)

72. Write a short account of the siege of Acre by a Turk who was in the city. (50)

73. From these extracts write a short account of King Richard's character. (48, 52)

74. Draw a map of Richard's journey home, naming the countries through which he passed. (52)

75. Does England owe anything to the Saracens or to the Crusades ?

76. After reading the extracts from Magna Carta, state (1) what rights were secured by it to the English people ; (2) from what ill-usage it protected them. (53)

77. Did Magna Carta (Ch. I.) modify the Constitutions of Clarendon, and in what way ? (42, 53)

78. Give the views of a Jew money-lender on Magna Carta. (53)

79. Compare all the chapters in which the word "freeman" occurs and say who you think the "freemen" were. Did they include all the persons so alluded to in Domesday Book ? If they did not, how far is it true to say that Magna Carta restored the liberties of the English people as a whole ? (53)

80. Why do you think the barons omitted Clauses 12 and 14 from the re-issue of the Charter ? (53)

81. From Magna Carta make a list of the various feudal obligations from which the king derived pecuniary profit. (53)

82. What do you gather were Henry's chief difficulties at the beginning of his reign ? (54, 55, 56)

83. Who were the parties engaged in this war ?

84. What was the attitude of the Pope ? What were his reasons for this attitude and his power to enforce his wishes ? (54–55)

85. What estimate had the Pope evidently formed of Henry's character ? In what matters would it have been better if Henry had followed the Pope's advice ? (54–56)

86. On whom was the king chiefly relying against the rebellious barons ? Has this any bearing on his subsequent reign ?

87. Do you know anything of the antecedents of any of the barons mentioned at the end of the extract ? (57)

88. By what different favourites was the king influenced at different times ? For what important events were they responsible ? (60)

89. He gave them "the wardship of noble youths and maidens." What does this imply ? (60)

90. What light does a comparison of these two extracts throw on Henry's character? (60, 61)

91. Was there any other reason for the dismissal of the Poitevins? (61)

92. What is meant by "regulars"? What was the quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor? Had England any special interest in the matter? (62)

93. Isolate the definite events in this period that make for the recognition of English nationality. (63)

94. Analyse this letter, showing what the English grievances really were. (65)

95. Compose an imaginary reply by the Pope justifying himself. (65)

96. How would Henry get the money to recompense the Pope? How would this action of the king affect: (1) the clergy; (2) orphan heiresses; (3) London merchants? (53, 66)

97. Collect instances of the king's misrule up to 1254.

98. What were the ties between England and Gascony?

99. Were the Gascons popular in England? Give reasons for your answer.

100. Was Gascony a source of strength or weakness to England at this time?

101. Give in detail Henry III.'s action with regard to his French possessions. (60, 61, 68)

102. What do you gather from the Provisions as to *local* government at this time? (70)

103. What are escheators? Why are their duties defined? (70)

104. Which part of the Provisions would the king chiefly object to? (70)

105. On what grounds did Louis give his award in favour of Henry? (72)

106. Draw up a table giving the chief points of difference in these two accounts. Give a plan of the battle. (73, 74)

107. Write a short narrative of the struggle of Wales for independence between 1224 and 1282. (58, 59, 67, 69, 75, 76, 79)

108. From these extracts make a list of the physical features of Wales that enabled Llewelyn to hold out so long.

109. Edward's legislation tended to abolish feudalism. Can you show this by a comparison of these extracts? (78, 81)

110. State briefly and in simple language the chief provisions of the Statute of Mortmain. (78)

111. What points of resemblance do you find between the Statute of Mortmain and the Constitutions of Clarendon? (42, 78)

112. Compare the attitude of the Norman barons in Wales and in Scotland. (58, 59)

113. Compare with sketch maps the geographical difficulties in conquering Wales and Scotland. (68, 79, 87)

114. "Edward dealt with Scotland like a lawyer." How far is this true? (83 86)

115. Comparing these two extracts, can you point to any specific violations of the former? (85, 86)

116. What geographical difficulties were there? Give a sketch map. (87)

117. Account for the different results of the military operations in these two extracts. (87, 88)

118. Write a short account of the relations between England and Scotland from 1290 to 1298. (82–88)

119. Compare the difficulties, physical and political, of the Scotch war with those of the Welsh war.

120. How far did the confiscation of Gascony in 1293 arise out of the Treaty of Paris in 1258? (90)

121. What was the "necessity" for the king to aid his ally, the Count of Flanders? Were the barons acting "for the common profit of the people"? (94)

122. What are the important differences in these two documents? (93, 94)

123. Which of the provisions to be found in this document had already been made by Magna Carta? (53, 95)

124. Tabulate the various matters that made 1297 a "critical year." (93–97)

125. From the conflicting accounts draw a plan of the Battle of Bannockburn. (97, 98)

126. How old was Prince Edward in 1314? In what way is it likely that his knowledge of his father's (*a*) relations with his nobles, (*b*) family life, affected the development of his character.

127. What exactly is the economic change described in this deed? In consequence of it would the peasants have been more likely than before to revolt, or not? Does it throw light on their dislike of lawyers? (99

128. Draw a sketch map showing the route from Ipswich to Flanders. Why was it necessary to protect foreign wool-ships? (100)

129. Why did Edward III. wish wool to be woven in England? How was this action likely to affect the growth of sheep-farming in England? (101)

130. In what part of England would wool for use in Bristol have been produced? Illustrate by a sketch map. (101)

131. Give briefly the reasons why the Flemings wished Edward to take the arms of France. (102)

132. What was the Empire? In which of the previous extracts has it been alluded to? 102)

133. Analyse Edward's letter. To which of his points does the French king reply? (103, 104)

134. To what extent did the papal exactions of 1345 resemble those of 1245? (65, 105)

135. What are the exact restrictions for labourers ordained in this statute? (100)

136. Would it have impoverished the "commonalty" if the labourers had been given double or treble wages? (106)

137. Analyse this extract and state which of the clauses would be to the advantage of the country employer, and which to that of the town employer. (107)

138. Discuss the bearing of the Manorial Deed (99) on the Statute of Labourers. (107)

139. To his contemporaries the Black Prince was the flower of chivalry. How far is his conduct at Limoges consistent with the character of the perfect knight as described by Chaucer? (108, 110)

140. Give a short account of the proceedings of the Good Parliament. (109)

141. What classes were represented in this Parliament? (109)

142. How was it that Parliament was able to make such a strong stand against the king? (109)

143. With which side are the sympathies of the chronicler? (109)

144. What do you learn from this extract about Wyclif's views and his attitude to Church government? (111)

145. In what respects does Langland's account of the friars agree with that given by Wyclif? (112, 113)

146. What can you gather from these two extracts about the condition of the Church at this time? (114, 115)

147. Contrast the friars as described by Wyclif and Langland with the friars of Henry III.'s reign. (112, 113)

148. What was the essential difference between a monk and a friar?

149. From this account of the rising of the peasants what can you infer as to the writer? (118)

150. Briefly describe the state of the labouring classes at this time. (99, 106, 107, 116, 117)

151. What would John Ball have thought of Langland's description of a labourer? (117, 118)

152. What persons would naturally object to this statute? How far was the statute likely to increase the navy? Why did the king want a large navy? (119)

153. Show in detail the king's relations with his nobles at different periods of his reign and contrast them with his conduct in 1399. (120)

154. What other English kings had not succeeded as the sons of their fathers, and what were their claims? (121)

155. How far was Henry's claim a good one? (121)

156. What were the views of the Lollards? Which classes of society disliked and which favoured them? (122)

157. Make a list of the adjectives and adverbs that refer to the Lollards in this statute. How far do you think them justified? (122)

158. Account for the power of the Percys. With whom were they allied, and where was the quarrel between Henry IV. and Harry Hotspur settled? (124)

159. Which of the English claims were justified by the Treaty of Bretigny? (125)

160. Do you notice any difference in their attitude towards the English of the French and the English accounts of Agincourt? (128)

161. Estimate from these extracts the effect of Agincourt upon political parties in France. (127, 128)

162. Who was the Emperor? Why did the king receive him with reverence and worship? On what other occasions was the Emperor brought into contact with English affairs? When was he allied by blood or marriage with the English royal family? (129)

163. What light do Henry V.'s dying instructions throw upon his character? (131)

164. Write a conversation upon Joan of Arc during her trial between an English archer and a French archer. (134, 135)

165. Account for the unpopularity in England of Henry VI.'s marriage.

166. What effect did this quarrel have upon foreign affairs? Had Henry foreseen any such difficulties? (131, 132, 133)

167. What is the value of private letters like the Paston letters as evidence? Give some reason for Suffolk's unpopularity. (136, 138)

168. Write a brief account of Cade's rebellion. Compare the details with those of Wat Tyler's rebellion. (116, 118, 137)

169. What is the importance to the history of the period of the event narrated in this letter? (138)

170. Write a short account of the Duke of York's plans to get the throne. (139, 141)

171. Why did Warwick side with the Lancastrians? (140)

172. In what respects was Towton more savagely contested than some other battles of the period? How do you account for this? (142)

173. Supplement this account of Warwick's strength from (1) Lytton's "Last of the Barons"; (2) the genealogy of the Neville family. (143)

174. (1) Explain by reference to his actions why Margaret was so unwilling to be reconciled to Warwick. (2) Why did the King of France wish them to be reconciled?

175. Why was it customary to expose the corpses or heads of vanquished enemies? What other instances of this do you know of in this period? (145)

176. Blakman was Henry's chaplain: How far would (1) Warwick, (2) Duke of York, have agreed with his view of Henry? (145)

177. How far were Edward's methods of amassing wealth illegal? (53, 95, 146)

178. In what ways did Edward IV. amass wealth differently from his predecessors, and how did this affect the stability of his throne? (146)

179. Why must Polydore Vergil's statements about Richard be received with caution? (147)

180. How far would Bacon's high opinion of the Star Chamber have been shared in the reign of Henry VII. by: (1) a turbulent noble; (2) a judge on circuit; (3) a well-fed liveried retainer; (4) a parish priest; (5) a prosperous farmer; (6) a country armourer? (148)

181. Compare Henry's reasons for war with France with those of Edward III. and Henry V. What light do these two extracts throw on his character? (149)

182. Mention some of the events in the thirty years preceding 1495 that led Henry to devise the Statute of Treason. What effect was it likely to have on the conduct of the nobles? (151)

183. Contrast the characters of More, Wolsey, and Henry VIII. What difference might it have made to Henry if More had been his tutor instead of Wolsey? (152, 153, 155, 156)

184. Mention some ways in which Henry dissipated the fortune

mentioned. Does the account of Henry in 155 make it probable that the description of Wolsey's influence mentioned in 153 may have been exaggerated? (155)

185. Has this letter any bearing on the events of 1534? (157)

186. If Wolsey had been made Pope, would this have been a good thing for (*a*) the Church; (*b*) England; (*c*) Europe? (157)

187. What previous attempts had been made to deprive the Church of its property and how did they differ from this one? (158)

188. "Tudor government was a popular despotism" (Macaulay). Discuss this.

189. Comment on this letter written by Thomas Cromwell to Henry VIII. in 1534, making clear in your remarks (1) whether it was likely that there would be any disagreement between the Commons and the Lords on the subject of this Bill; (2) what effect the Bill would have on (*a*) the trade in wool, (*b*) the trade in cloth, (*c*) the king's revenues, (*d*) recruiting; (3) whether the suppression of the greater monasteries a few years later would make the Bill more necessary or less necessary. (159)

190. Write a short speech by a member of Parliament during the debate on the statute (*a*) supporting, (*b*) opposing it. (159)

191. Does it appear from this letter that Cromwell's aim was chiefly religious or financial? (161)

192. Write a letter from an inhabitant of (*a*) the monastery, (*b*) the village, commenting on the visit. (161)

193. What strikes you as peculiar in the words in italics? (162)

194. What were the circumstances that led to this reaction? Why was 1540 the date chosen? (163)

195. From the prayer for landlords (*a*) state (1) what the landlords had done; (2) what were the results of the landlords' actions; (*b*) illustrate the actions and their results from Latimer's sermon. (164, 165)

196. Why had prices risen so much? What bearing has this on Kett's rebellion? (165)

197. Compare Mary's accomplishments with those of her father. (155, 156)

198. What comment would a man who had come into the possession of Church lands have made on this speech of Queen Mary? (167)

199. How far had the possession of Calais been (1) an advantage, (2) a disadvantage, to England? At what seasons of the year and under what climatic conditions was Calais most liable to attack? (169)

200. Compare the first Act of Supremacy carefully with the second one, and note any important differences. (160, 170)

201. How far was the queen empowered by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (judged from the extracts given) to give her commissioners the powers granted in extract 172? (170, 171, 172)

202. Was legislation of this kind likely to secure its object? Can you refer to any cases where it met with either success or failure? (173)

203. What does this extract show as to Elizabeth's character? (174)

204. Was the speech likely to satisfy the Commons? Give your reasons. (174)

205. What previous legislation would have made the introduction of this Bull into England illegal? (176)

206. Which of Burleigh's qualities made him particularly suitable as an adviser to Queen Elizabeth? (177)

207. On what occasions in her reign did she badly need such an adviser?

208. How far are these items of advice wise? What bearing have they on Elizabeth's foreign policy at the time? (178)

209. Enumerate the successive stages of Elizabeth's foreign policy, showing clearly the reasons for her changes.

210. What light does this throw on Elizabeth's character? (179)

211. How far do you consider this letter sincere? (180)

212. Compare this letter with Philip's letter to the bishops of his dominions in 1588, and discuss their bearing on the fate of the Armada. From these two letters state the reasons which should have induced Philip to postpone the Armada. (181, 184)

213. What were the reasons that drove him to hurry it on at all costs?

214. What can be gleaned from these despatches about the efficiency of the English Government? (182)

215. From these extracts write a connected narrative of the fight with the Armada. (182, 183)

216. Contrast extract 179 with Elizabeth's speech in extract 185. (179, 185)

217. What had been going on during the past hundred years to render this poor law necessary? (186)

218. Contrast the queen's attitude towards Parliament in 1601 with her attitude in 1566. (174, 175, 187). Can you account for the difference? (179, 187)

219. State briefly what was asked for in the Millenary Petition. (188)

220. What light does the part that the king took in the Hampton Court Conference throw on (1) his reasoning power; (2) his acquaintance with religious opinion in his new kingdom? (189)

221. Make a list, with dates, of the chief occasions when the English Government came into conflict with Irish opinion. (190)

222. How did these conflicts lead up to the Plantation of Ulster? (190)

223. Estimate the probable effect of the Plantation upon the different sections of Irish society. (190)

224. How far is the account of this episode in the text (p. 380) drawn from this source? Does the king seem to you to have behaved (1) wisely; (2) like an English gentleman? (191)

225. Explain exactly James's position on the subject of free speech. Why did he order the protestation to be erased out of the Journal-Book of the House of Commons? (192)

226. State briefly the king's views on monopolies. Compare this speech with that of Queen Elizabeth in Parliament in 1566, and say which of the two sovereigns was the easier to understand. (174, 193)

227. Compare James's speech with the message sent by Elizabeth to the Commons in 1601. (187, 193)

228. From extracts 193 and 194 state clearly what were the king's views as to the relations between the crown and the judges. (193, 194)

229. Can you give any previous occasions when the principle of postponing supply to remedy of grievances had been insisted upon ? (195)

230. Compare the Petition of Right with Magna Carta and *De Tallagio concedendo* and show to what extent its provisions are to be found in these documents. (53, 95, 196)

231. How far does Falkland make good his comparison of the judges to wolves ? Write an answer by Charles I. to his arguments. (197)

232. How far were writers of different political standpoints in agreement as to the main features of Strafford's character ? (198)

233. Compare Charles's treatment of Strafford with James's treatment of Raleigh. Is it possible to justify the conduct of either king ? (191, 199)

234. Write a reply by Charles to the Petition accompanying the Remonstrance of 1641. (200)

235. May Clarendon's description of this scene be prejudiced ? Write a report of it by a strong supporter of Cromwell. (201)

236. Write a short letter, dated January 11, 1643, from the Rev. Mr. Hitch to a friend at Cambridge, in which he states his opinion of his "loving friend." (202)

237. After reading this letter carefully, say whether you can see anything noteworthy in its composition. (205)

238. Do you think from Cromwell's speech that he would have agreed with the remarks made in the text (p. 395) about the Self-Denying Ordinance ? What light does the speech throw on the characters of the Puritan leaders ? (206)

239. How far was Pride's Purge (1) legal ; (2) justifiable ? (207)

240. Do you consider Milton's criticism of the advice that Charles gives to his son in "Eikon Basilike" a fair one ?

241. How far would it be true to say that the religious convictions of the Puritans checked their feelings of humanity ? (205, 209)

242. Comment on the words italicised in the Navigation Act. Do you consider that the Act was a mistaken policy or not ? Give your reasons. How far had there been any previous legislation with the same object ? (210)

243. What similarity do you notice between the three letters of Cromwell given in 205, 209, 211 ?

244. In what ways may Whitlocke have modified the account of this conference to suit political circumstances at the date of its publication ? (212)

245. Is Cromwell's attitude here incompatible with that adopted when he supported the rights of the fen-dwellers ? (201, 214)

246. Is this in any sense a legal summons to Parliament ? Give the reasons of a person summoned who refused to attend. (215)

247. What light does the Instrument of Government throw on the difficulties of Cromwell's position ? (216)

248. What light does this letter throw on Cromwell's character ?

Can you find any trace of the same quality in the other letters and speeches of Cromwell that are quoted? (217)

249. Both Cromwell and Henry II. had a remarkable gift of getting their own way: did they, as far as you can judge from the extracts referred to, owe this success to the same qualities of mind? (39–41, 201–206, 209, 211–219)

250. Justify Milton's eulogy of Cromwell. Who are the foes alluded to in the last lines? Which of the letters and speeches of Cromwell quoted here lend themselves to the "detractions rude" mentioned by Milton? (218)

251. Compare Cromwell's action and language when dissolving the Rump and dismissing his last parliament. How far were the circumstances similar? (212, 219)

252. Which classes and what persons in England would have been in favour of the Declaration of Breda, and which would not? (220)

253. What was the importance to England of the first Dutch war?

254. How far was there any justification for the charges against Clarendon? (221)

255. What light does this letter of Sir William Temple's throw on the political state of Europe at this time? (222)

256. Draft a memorandum that Charles might have entered in his private diary after his interview with Temple. (223)

257. Illustrate from Shaftesbury's political actions the character of Achitophel. (224)

258. Does Judge Jeffreys' behaviour on the bench strike you as likely to lead to a fair verdict? Was such a judge as Jeffreys a source of strength or of danger to the court party? (225)

259. What other courts had at different times been set up in England to deal with ecclesiastical affairs? In what respects were the objects of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission different from theirs? (226)

260. Comment upon the constitution of the court. (226)

261. Give a brief summary of the reasons put forward to persuade William of Orange to come to England. Was this invitation approved of by the same people who approved of the Declaration of Breda? (227)

262. Why was it necessary to dissolve Parliament in 1701? (229)

263. Expand this extract, introducing names and amplifying hints. (230)

264. What light does this extract throw on (1) the mercantile system; (2) the wars subsequent to Walpole's fall; (3) the divisions of English classes and interests at this time? (231)

265. Read Macaulay's Essay on Clive and say whether you think he has founded his account of Plassey on this letter. (232)

266. Write a short abstract of the policy suggested by Clive to Pitt. (233)

267. How far was this policy subsequently carried out? (233)

268. What criticisms would Burke have made upon this letter? Write a portion of a speech by him in which they are expressed. (233)

269. Read the orders issued by Wolfe on September 12, and say how far you share General Townshend's opinion about Wolfe's generalship. (234, 235)

270. How far did the actual movements of the troops before Quebec carry out Wolfe's orders issued on September 12? (234)

271. Compare the orders issued by Wolfe with the letter sent to Pitt ten days earlier. What light does the comparison throw on the extreme measures adopted by Wolfe? (234, 235)

272. Compare the different letters received by Pitt from commanding officers in 1759, and estimate the anxieties that he must have felt during this year. (233, 235)

273. What do you gather from this article as to the character of the House of Commons and its need for reform? (236)

274. Does Wilkes rightly estimate Frederick's views on the Treaty of Paris? (236)

275. Write a reply in a Government newspaper to this attack. (236)

276. From Walpole's letter what do you gather was the real importance of the Wilkes case? (237)

277. Did the Government respond to this appeal? (238)

278. Tabulate in different columns the arguments used by Burke and Chatham. (238, 239)

279. Are Chatham's arguments all sound, and are they all acted upon in the British Empire to-day? (239)

280. What might have been the ministry's reply to Chatham's speech? (239)

281. What point in the dispute is emphasised in this letter? (240)

282. Make a brief abstract of the essential points in the Declaration of Independence. How far were the statements contained in it justified? (241)

283. How far are Washington's statements (*a*) exaggerated, (*b*) justified by his circumstances? (242)

284. What circumstances had forced Francis upon Hastings? (243)

285. Would this state of things have been possible after Pitt's India Act of 1784? (243)

286. Criticise and comment on the king's speech. (244)

287. Are there any important factors omitted in this criticism? (245)

288. Can any justification be offered for Hastings? (246)

289. Make a list of the questions that Burke ought to have put to himself before making accusations against Hastings on the strength of evidence such as Colonel Champion's letter. (246)

290. What is the historical value of letters such as those written to his wife by Hastings in 1784, in view of the accusations made against him? (247)

291. Compare the speeches of Burke and Fox against Mr. Hastings on June 1, 1786. Which seems to you (1) to exaggerate most; (2) to show the greater ignorance of Eastern affairs and the nature of Orientals? (248, 249)

292. How do the wages, the length of the working day, and the ages of the workers in the second half of the eighteenth century compare with those customary at the present day. (250 251)

293. Point out the differences which strike you most in earnings and prices between 1769–71 and 1793–5, as shown by Young and Eden. (250–255)

294. What signs do you find in these extracts of the progress of the Industrial Revolution? (250–255)

295. Why has the value of oak fallen since 1793? (253)

296. What parts of these narratives would have been anachronisms in the second half of the nineteenth century? Give reasons in each case. (250–255)

297. Compare the wages of labourers in 1795 with those current in the fourteenth century, and making allowance for the difference in the value of money, estimate the relative prosperity of the working classes in both centuries. (99, 107, 255)

298. Does this extract illustrate any effect of the war on England? (255)

299. Make a short abstract of Captain Berry's narrative. (256)

300. From the narrative make a sketch-map of the Battle of the Nile. (256)

301. How far does the policy suggested in this letter for the British in India agree with that outlined by Clive in his letter to Pitt in 1759? (233, 258)

302. How far does the criticism of Asiatic policy in this memorandum apply to the conditions of diplomacy during the Hundred Years' War? (258)

303. Give a brief account in untechnical language of Nelson's memorandum before Trafalgar. (259)

304. How far did the Battle of Trafalgar as described by Admiral Collingwood resemble the plan for the battle suggested in Nelson's memorandum? (259–261)

305. How far is the plan of the attack on p. 477 justified by either Nelson's memorandum or Collingwood's despatch? (259–261)

306 Compare Nelson's memorandum on Trafalgar with Wellington's memorandum on Torres Vedras. What conclusions can you draw as to the qualities of the respective commanders for leadership? (259–265)

307. Does Nelson's memorandum seem to you to be clear? In what respects do you think it might be better expressed? (259)

308. What was Napoleon's object in issuing this decree? (262)

309. How far were all the clauses necessary for the attainment of his object? Could any of them be omitted? (262)

310. How far was Napoleon in a position to enforce the decree? (262)

311. What effect was the decree likely to have on countries other than England? (262)

312. Can you account for the rise in price of the seats in the House? What was the effect of a new supply of rich purchasers on (1) political parties, (2) social life? (263)

313. Is it still as difficult for an independent member to gain admission to the House of Commons? If so, are the reasons the same? (263)

314. Suggest reasons why Emancipation was not granted till 1829. (264)

315. What is the importance of this memorandum in the history of the Peninsular War? (265)

316. Make a brief abstract of the memorandum. (265)

317. (*a*) With the aid of the map on p. 671, draw a plan to illustrate this memorandum, inserting by conjecture the places that are not given on the map. (*b*) With the aid of an atlas draw a complete sketch-map of the operations suggested.

318. What light does this memorandum throw on Wellington's success as a general? (265)

319. Do any of the instructions to Colonel Fletcher seem to you unnecessary? Would a commander-in-chief issue a memorandum of this kind at the present day? (265)

320. State briefly the reasons given by Wellington for his inability to forecast the enemy's operations. (266)

321. Make a *précis* for the perusal of the Earl of Liverpool of the whole of the document, taking care (1) to present the information so that it can be seen at a glance; (2) to omit nothing that is essential. (266)

322. What light does the despatch throw on (1) Napoleon's generalship; (2) the condition of the French army in the Peninsula? (266)

323. How far does this despatch present the same characteristics as the memorandum for Colonel Fletcher? (266)

324. Is the plan of the Battle of Waterloo on p. 491 justified by Wellington's despatch? (267)

325. Give a brief account of the battle. (267)

326. Make a list of actions by Napoleon which account for the tone of this article. (268)

327. How far do you consider the attitude adopted towards Napoleon by the *Times* justifiable? (268)

328. Make an analysis of Wellington's arguments against Parliamentary reform. How far do they justify the retention of the state of things described as existing in 1807? (263, 269)

329. How does Wellington's ability as a political speaker (judged from this speech) compare with his power as a writer of despatches? (265–267)

330. With the help of "Bradshaw" insert in a blank map of England the places mentioned in the sections quoted from the Reform Act. (270)

331. How many of them are not to be found in "Bradshaw"? (270)

332. Of which of them have you ever heard in English history? (270)

333. Suggest reasons for the decline of some of them, and for the growth of others. (270)

334. Compare the Poor Law of 1834 with that of 1598. (186, 271)

335. How did the middle classes regard Chartism? Why? (272)

336. What efforts, if any, had been made to mitigate the misery here described? (272)

337. Summarise the demands here made and criticise their efficacy. (272)

338. What previous movements had there been towards Free Trade since the accession of George II.? (273)

339. What great social and industrial changes acted in favour of the repeal? (273)

340. Compare the suffrage under the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867, and state what classes of the community had evidently gained political importance during the interval. (270, 272, p. 517)

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